BIBLIOTHECA
FF. PRÆDICATORUM
CONVENTUS
CIVIT. BENITIÆ
Lit. 277 C
Pl.

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

FATHER GIANMARIA SALVATIERRA

CALIFORNIA
AND
ITS MISSIONS

THEIR HISTORY
TO THE TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO

BY
BRYAN J. CLINCH

IN TWO VOLUMES
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

VOL. I.

The Whitaker & Ray Company
(Incorporated)
PUBLISHERS
San Francisco
1904

Copyright 1904
by
Bryan J. Clinch

PREFACE

The following work has been written chiefly at the request of a dear friend, long interested in collegiate work in California and who believed its history had not yet been told, as it merits to be, in any succinct form. H. H. Bancroft has certainly collected materials with tireless industry and embodied them in several volumes, but their very bulk puts them out of the way of ordinary readers. Hittell, Tuthill and the late Father W. Gleason have written works of more moderate compass, but the two former pay very slight attention to the missions, and the latter is almost exclusively devoted to them. The object I have proposed is to tell both the secular and religious history of my adopted State during the whole period of the missions. The story of Lower California and its Jesuit Reductions is so closely connected with the missions of Upper California that it seemed necessary to include it in the scope of this work. I have written a summary of the story of the two Californias, which was published in a London magazine more than thirty years ago, and I have followed similar lines in this work.

I have incorporated several studies which seem to me to have a direct bearing on Californian history, though relating to other lands. That on the development of the mission system of Spanish America in the sixteenth century is one of these, and the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions another. They have been introduced chiefly on account of the singular ignorance of most modern American writers on California of their nature. Hittell calmly attributes the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain to an imagined refusal to pay tithes, and Tuthill with equal simplicity declares "the King expelled the Order to save his throne." The connection between the

mission work of Las Casas and Montesino in the sixteenth century and the principles of policy of the Spanish Government in the California missions have not, as far as I am aware, been brought into notice in any recent history.

The semi-military colonization devised by Charles the Third for Upper California deserves more attention than is usually given it. The growth of the European population in peace among savage neighbors and its somewhat elementary social and legal organization are deeply interesting to the student of ethical development and the formation of institutions. The destruction of the missions by the later Mexican Governors is a point of much legal, as well as moral, interest. It has hardly ever been satisfactorily treated, either by friends or foes of the missions. The former, looking too exclusively on the religious and humanitarian results obtained by the friars, are inclined to treat every difference between them and the Spanish Governors as exercises of despotic tyranny. The latter find in them only evidence of supposed priestly ambition of power or greed of wealth. What the real facts were I have endeavored to set forth as clearly as my abilities would allow, and at least with impartiality to both sides.

The sources of information used, are mostly published and can be easily verified. For Lower California the chief authority I have followed is Venegas in the Mexican edition of 1757, and Clavigero in the Italian. I have drawn chiefly from Palou for the story of the colonization of Upper California until the death of Father Serra and also from the latter's own diary, as published in Mr. Lummis' Out West in 1902. Nearly all the official papers of Spanish and Mexican rule have been taken from Mr. Bancroft's valuable collection. Forbes, Dana, Alfred Robinson, Davis, Tuthill, and other modern writers named have been consulted in the originals, and the quotations rest on their authority. Nearly all the facts relating to Las Casas will be found in Help's Spanish Conquest of America. I have also drawn on the Mexican historian Bustamente and the

Spanish La Fuente. The particulars of events relating to the Bear Flag and Fremont are those given by Bancroft, and not, as far as I am aware, since seriously disputed. Those relating to the Franciscans after the American occupation are condensed from "Franciscans in California," and those connected with the mission Indians, chiefly from Mr. Lummis in his magazine Out West.

Among the subjects treated are some which have hitherto been little touched by modern writers on California, though of much importance for comprehension of phases of its history. Among them are the policy of the Spanish rulers towards conversion and civil organization, respectively among the natives of America, and the evolution of the mission system from joint efforts of the old friars, and old principles of government. Others are the history of the Pious Fund, the nature of Missionary Colleges, the influence of French philosophers on the changes introduced in missions by de Croix and the meaning of secularization under the laws of Spain. If the writer has made any of these points more clearly understood, he hopes he will not have toiled in vain on the story of California and its missions.

CONTENTS

PREFACE 5

CHAPTER I

EARLY EXPLORATION 13

CHAPTER II

CONQUEST AND CONVERSION IN EARLY COLONIZATION .. 34

CHAPTER III

THE EVOLUTION OF THE SPANISH MISSION SYSTEM 49

CHAPTER IV

THE CALIFORNIAN NATIVES 69

CHAPTER V

EUSEBIUS KUEHN 83

CHAPTER VI

GIANMARIA SALVATIERRA 100

CHAPTER VII

JUAN UGARTE 120

CHAPTER VIII

MARTYR MISSIONARIES 141

CHAPTER IX

THE LAST MISSIONS 160

CHAPTER X

CHARLES III. AND THE JESUITS 182

CHAPTER XI

FRANCISCANS IN THE PENINSULA 197

NOTES.—List of Missions 216
Accounts of Pious Fund 217
Report of Spanish Attorney-General in 1815 on Expulsion Decree 219
Action of Government of Charles III. towards the Pious Fund 221

ILLUSTRATIONS

Frontispiece—Father Gianmaria Salvatierra, S. J.

Hernando Cortez 15

Charles V. 62

Guamas, or Medicine Men 73

Californian Incantations 114

Murder of Father Carranzo 145

Map of Missions 181

CALIFORNIA AND ITS MISSIONS

CHAPTER I

Early Explorations

The name California goes back to the earliest European settlements on the American continent. It was used by the Spanish historian Gomara in the reign of Charles V., sixty years before the beginnings of English colonization in any part of America. Its origin is uncertain, but most probably was in some native words taken by the first explorers as a name of place. At a later time scholars amused themselves with finding derivations for it in Spanish or Latin. "Calida fornax" was the most popular of these, and its application was supposed to have been made from an analogy between the climate and barren appearance of Lower California and a dry oven. Venegas, in the eighteenth century, mentions this etymology, but without committing himself to any opinion on its value. As the native dialects which fell on the ears of the first European visitors have utterly passed away, it would be futile to seek further for the meaning of the original term. All that can be safely said is, that, by the middle of the sixteenth century, California was the name generally used by Europeans for the western coast of North America from Cape San Lucas northward. It was somewhat doubted whether California was an island or a part of the main continent, as it really is. This question was not fully settled until nearly the close of the eighteenth century.

The introduction of the name to modern geography must be credited to Hernando Cortez, who visited the peninsula in 1533, and remained there some time. A map prepared by Alarcon, an officer of Cortez, was sent to the

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

Spanish government in 1541, and showed a fairly correct outline of the gulf and the shores of the peninsula to which the name was applied. It also showed the mouth of the great river flowing into the northern extremity of the gulf and draining nearly a third of the territory of the Union. A couple of years later the exploring voyage of Cabrillo extended the name of California to the coasts of the present American State as far as southern Oregon. The English adventurer, Drake, who visited the neighborhood of San Francisco forty years after Cabrillo's voyage, gave the coasts there the name of New Albion, partly from some resemblance between the white cliffs on the English Channel and the bluffs near Bodega Bay, and partly as a claim to first discovery of the land itself. The name given by Drake was long retained by English geographers, but it failed to dispossess the more musical and older name California. After Florida, the latter is the oldest State name in the American Republic today.

The first visit of Europeans to any part of California was made in 1533, when some soldiers of Cortez crossed the gulf near its entrance and landed in the peninsula. Cortez, on his return to Mexico as its ruler, sent an officer, Becerra de Mendoza, in 1534, to explore the new land. He followed in person in 1536 and spent several months in the south of the peninsula near the bay of La Paz. He proposed to found a settlement there as a base for further exploration, but was called back to Mexico before he could accomplish anything beyond an exploration of the coasts around La Paz. The members of the governing council in the capital were trying to make themselves supreme during his absence, and, though he recovered his threatened authority on his return, it was not prudent for him to venture again on such distant expeditions. He sent, however, an expedition under command of Ulloa, a trusted officer, to explore California the following year. Ulloa sailed up the gulf to its head, discovered the mouth of the Colorado, and drew a fairly accurate map of the adjoin-

ing coasts and the peninsula. Cortez sent this map to Spain in 1541, but his connection with California ended then. According to his statement he had spent two hundred thousand ducats of his own fortune in the various explorations of California, and had found neither gold nor silver to repay such an outlay. The only return he

HERNANDO CORTEZ
from Portrait in Mexico

received was the application of his name to the gulf explored by him. It was known for several generations as the Sea of Cortez, though the term Gulf of California ultimately prevailed. The conqueror, himself, was shortly afterwards removed from all share in the administration of Mexico. Antonio de Mendoza was appointed Viceroy by Charles V., to organize the territory conquered by Cor-

tez and his companions as a government, directly under the royal authority instead of a feudal dependency.

The Viceroy carried out his task with a rare tact and energy. He pushed on the projects of exploration of Cortez, while gradually suppressing the system of serfdom which had given the latter resources to carry them out. An accident gave the Viceroy, who had neither ships nor soldiers at his disposal as such, the means of exploring the northern coasts. Alvarado, the Governor of Guatemala, who like Cortez, ruled his province as a feudal prince, had built a fleet in Central America for an expedition to the Moluccas before the arrival of Mendoza in Mexico. It was gathered in the Mexican port of Navidad in 1541, to sail for Asia, when Alvarado, whose temper knew no rest, volunteered to put down an Indian rising in the province of Jalisco as a temporary diversion. He was mortally wounded in a skirmish with the natives and his death left the squadron of twelve well built vessels at the disposal of the Viceroy. He sent most of them to the Moluccas under the Admiral Villalobos, but kept two of the largest for exploration of the northern Pacific. Their command he gave to Esteban Cabrillo, a veteran navigator of high reputation. Cabrillo, like Magellan, was a Portuguese, though in the service of Charles V. There was less of national jealousy in the Spanish service in the sixteenth century than is commonly supposed. To Cabrillo belongs the discovery of Upper California, though like Magellan, he did not return to claim its credit.

The two ships sailed from Navidad in 1542. Their progress northward was phenomenally slow, even as measured by the leisurely standards of ocean sailing on the Atlantic at that time. The voyage to the middle of Lower California from Navidad was longer than that of Columbus across the Atlantic. It was, also, much more trying on all engaged, as the prevailing winds were directly contrary and it needed constant tacking and unceasing labor of the crews to make any headway. It speaks well for

Cabrillo's character that, though a foreigner, he was able to keep his men in courage and obedience all through. It is also to his credit that he permitted no act of aggression on the natives met with at different points. In that he stands in favorable contrast both with many of the early explorers of the West Indies, and later voyagers of other nationalities. It should be added that his conduct in this respect was in accord with the general policy of Mendoza and the instructions of the Spanish monarch.

Cabrillo was the first European to visit the outer coasts of the Californian peninsula to the latitude reached by Ulloa on the Gulf. Santa Catalina and the other islands of the Santa Barbara Channel were next discovered. They were then thickly peopled by a race of Indians much superior in intelligence to those of the peninsula. They had a form of religion and a house of worship, and recognized the authority of a chief in their social life. They were, however, as indifferent to clothing as the natives of the peninsula, and their food was mainly the fish which, then, as now, was specially abundant around their shores.

Cabrillo made some stay in the islands to rest his men, though food supplies were confined to fresh fish. The natives showed themselves very friendly to the strangers, and the latter were careful not to return the hospitality with aggression. Cabrillo was anxious to reach the forty-fourth parallel of latitude, and when his men were recruited he started his vessels along the shore of the mainland. It was noted that the land was more fertile and better timbered than in the barren peninsula to the south, but the natives were nearly in the same degree of barbarism. At latitude thirty-seven a large bay was found with good anchorage near shore and some protection against winds in projecting headlands to the north and south. It was named the Bay of Pines. The name was changed sixty years later to that of Monterey, which it still keeps.

The explorers kept on their northward course from the Bay of Pines though suffering much from both the inces-

sant labor in tacking and the cold of these latitudes, which was severely felt by men used to tropical seas. A remarkable headland was discovered near latitude forty degrees, and named Cape Mendocino, in honor of the Viceroy of Mexico. The vessels passed it and reached the coast of what is now the State of Oregon, without finding any harbor to refit in. The crews were thinned terribly by scurvy and finally the attempt to push further north was given up. Cabrillo died during the voyage and was buried on one of the islands in the Santa Barbara Channel. It was nearly two years after sailing from Navidad that the vessels returned to Mexico without their commander and with crews sadly lessened by disease and hardships. They brought back the news of fertile lands and numerous natives but nothing else. No trace of gold or silver and no sign of any civilized population had been found along the coast line explored for over two thousand miles beyond Cape San Lucas. The Viceroy sent the maps and journals of the expedition to Spain, but made no attempt to renew the work of northern exploration.

After the occupation of the Philippines by Legaspi, in 1564, new interest in Upper California was aroused in the Spanish government. Until that time, though several voyagers had crossed the Pacific, they had done it only from east to west. The direction of the prevalent winds in the tropics seemed to make the reverse voyage impossible for sailing vessels. Fray Urdaneta, an old naval officer who had entered the Augustinian Order, and been called from his convent to act as assistant commander to Legaspi, was the first to cross the Pacific from Asia to America. He accomplished it by going northward from Manila to the latitude of Japan, where the winds permitted a crossing to the American coasts. The latter were sighted near Cape Mendocino, and when a regular service was established between Manila and Acapulco, the Philippine galleons had to sail for more than a thousand miles along the California coasts which were marked in

their charts, though scarcely visited by their crews, for over a century. It is on record, indeed, that one, the San Augustine, ran ashore near the Bay of San Francisco, towards the close of the sixteenth century, but the brief entries recording this event leave it uncertain whether the ship itself got off or its crew returned to Mexico overland or in some other way. It is certain, at least, that none of the Philippine packets attempted a landing in Upper California in the ordinary course of their voyages.

The next European to visit any part of Upper California was the English adventurer, Francis Drake. He anchored near the Golden Gate in 1579, nearly forty years after the Portuguese explorer. It is remarkable that his journal makes no mention of the Bay of San Francisco itself, though his vessel must have been repaired a few miles from its present entrance in the little haven now known as Drake's Bay. It is true that Drake was not interested in geographical discoveries like Cabrillo. His voyage to the Pacific was purely piratical and he had plundered the unprotected coast towns of Peru and Mexico for nearly a year before he found it expedient to seek a place to refit in the distant northern seas. It is a strange illustration of the political morality of the English Court and people at the time that Drake's expedition to plunder Spanish settlements was made in a time of full peace between England and Spain. His squadron was fitted out by means of a joint stock company in which Elizabeth, herself, took a modest share of "five hundred crowns." Drake sailed from England in 1577 with five vessels, but only succeeded in bringing one, the Golden Hind, to California. The complaints of the English sailors of the excessive cold of the Californian climate are curious reading. The Golden Hind sailed westward from San Francisco and was the first English vessel to circumnavigate the world, nearly half a century after the expedition of Magellan. Drake's piratical cruise had no effect

on California except to stimulate the Spanish government to renewed efforts for its occupation.

The voyage of Cabrillo and the fatalities attending it excited no desire for further California exploration among the Spanish population of Mexico, and for half a century neither the peninsula nor the northern coasts beyond received any attention there. Towards the end of the reign of Philip II., however, the Home Government urged on the colonial authorities the importance of establishing a port of call for the galleons from Manila, both as a protection against pirates or foreign cruisers, and to lessen the mortality consequent on the long voyage. The distance from Manila to Acapulco by the route usually followed was nearly nine thousand miles and consumed from six to twelve months. The ravages of scurvy and kindred diseases were very great, and it was not uncommon for half the crews and passengers to die on a voyage. As nearly a third of the whole distance ran along the coast of California and northern Mexico, a port of call on the former would materially lessen the prevailing mortality on the ships. Philip was deeply interested on religious grounds in the success of the colony in the Philippines, and the cost of such a port seemed to him subordinate to higher interests. The Viceroy was ordered to establish one if possible, and in 1596 sent Sebastian Vizcaino, a veteran naval commander, to form a settlement in the south of the Peninsula.

Vizcaino landed at the port of La Paz and built a stockade there, though the district offered no further inducements for settlement than safe anchorage and a limited supply of fresh water. He sent two vessels to seek a more favorable location, but, though they examined the coasts of the peninsula carefully for over a hundred leagues, they could find none such. At one point visited a boat's crew was slaughtered by a sudden attack of the natives. The ships returned to La Paz with the story of their misfortune and as provisions were nearly exhausted, and none could be found in California, the commander abandoned

the settlement and returned with his men to Acapulco, from which he sent a report to the Viceroy Monterey. The latter approved of Vizcaino's action but sent his report to the Spanish authorities at home for further instructions.

Philip received it while nearly at the point of death but with his usual tenacity he refused to abandon the projected settlement. Instructions to the Count of Monterey, ordering a further exploration of the coasts visited by Cabrillo, were drawn up, and sent to Mexico on the 27th of September, 1598, four days after the death of Philip. The Viceroy was ordered to spare no cost in carrying out the intentions of the late king, which were fully endorsed by his son and successor, Philip III.

Monterey carried them out as he could. He procured two ships in Honduras and had a smaller vessel built in Acapulco, the starting point selected for the voyage. Vizcaino was named admiral, nothwithstanding his failure at La Paz, as he was the best naval commander then in Mexico. The crews were picked with special care, and provision made for many months, in view of the improbability of getting supplies in the regions to be visited. A skilled surveyor, Geronymo Martin, was attached to the fleet to prepare charts and three Carmelite priests sent as chaplains and teachers of the natives. One of the three kept a journal of the voyage, which attracted much attention in Spain, and was published in Madrid in 1615 as a part of the historical work of Torquemada, "The Indian Monarchy." Vizcaino's squadron seems to have been the best organized expedition that had been started up to that time on the Pacific. It was nearly four years after the issue of the royal orders from Madrid before Vizcaino could sail from Acapulco. The order of Philip III. was dated September 27, 1598, and Vizcaino's sailing was on the fifth of May, 1602, about twenty years before the start of the first Puritan Colony for New England.

The ships encountered the same difficulties from head

winds as Cabrillo had done. Two weeks were consumed in getting from Acapulco to Navidad, little over five hundred miles. One of the ships sprang a bad leak during this time and they all had to put into Navidad to repair the damage and take in more ballast. They only reached Cape San Lucas on the 9th of June, and the admiral's ship was very near running ashore there in a dense sea fog.

The squadron anchored in a small port to which the name of Bay of San Barnabas was given. A crowd of naked Indians, armed with bows and lances, came to the beach with threatening demonstrations. Vizcaino and Fray Antonio, the chronicler of the expedition, went ashore with twelve men. The natives retreated when the Europeans landed, but Fray Antonio went after them alone, and by signs tried to tell that the visitors had no hostile intentions. Seeing him alone the Indians gathered around and laid their bows on the ground, in token of peace, making, at the same time, signs that the Spaniards should also lay down their arms. Vizcaino humored their demand and friendly intercourse was thus established. The savages gave their visitors to understand that a large vessel had entered the port some years before and carried away a woman. It was on this account they received the strangers so badly. The Carmelite historian believed the vessel must have been one of the Manila vessels and added a strong appeal to all Christians to refrain from similar acts in the future.

The ships were detained nearly a month in San Barnabas Bay by violent gales. They were driven back to its shelter three times before they could continue their course. The day following, the smallest of the three, the "fragata" or tender, got separated from the others in a thick fog, and did not rejoin them till the end of August. The other two were becalmed a whole week three days later and were afterwards separated in another fog at Magdalena Bay. The Capitana, or smaller vessel, ran into that harbor while the flagship, with Vizcaino in command, held

on its course. It took her nearly two months from Cape San Lucas to Cerros Island. The tender, meanwhile, was working its way along the coast. It found the Capitana, the second ship, at anchor in Magdalena Bay and the two started to find the commander's vessel. They caught up with it at Cerros Island in the end of August, but were again separated within a few days in another dense mist. The squadron was not reunited until the end of October, six months after their departure from Acapulco. They had only reached the latitude of the mouth of the Colorado in that time. The navigation of the western coast of the peninsula was far slower than even that of the Gulf.

At San Simeon Bay, a little after the reunion of the ships, Vizcaino encountered hostilities from the natives. A boat's crew was sent ashore for water and a party of Indians tried to make them prisoners. The Spaniards had to use their firearms and wounded five or six who were carried off by their comrades. A few hours afterwards the Indians returned and made signs of peace. The commander accepted their overtures and both parties parted on good terms. It was the only conflict during the whole voyage.

The feelings of the explorers during this weary six months were expressed in the names on the maps of the expedition. "Cabo d'Engano," Cape Deceit, and "Sierra d'Enfado," Mountains of Disgust, were among the titles given to landmarks of Lower California. The names were generally taken from the Roman calendar by the Carmelite chaplains, but the feelings of the crews were at times expressed on the nature of the country. The name of Vizcaino has remained with the Bay near Cerros Island where his vessels were reunited, but generally the Spanish explorers did not attach their own names to their discoveries. The difference in that respect between their practice and that of later explorers of British nationality is curious.

The first important discovery was made in November, 1602, six months after his departure from Acapulco. A large, land-locked bay with deep water, was found about four hundred miles north of Cerros, and nearly in the same latitude as the embouchure of the Colorado on the gulf side of the peninsula. The soil around the port was sandy, but there were trees and grass lands near, and the country seemed a paradise in comparison with the bare rocks of the peninsular coasts. Vizcaino gave his discovery the name of San Diego Bay, in honor of the Saint of that name. It was the first really good port north of Acapulco yet found on the western coast of America.

The satisfaction felt at this discovery was damped by an outbreak of scurvy among the sailors as a consequence of the hardships of the voyage, and the unvarying salted provisions. Several died during the couple of weeks the vessels remained in the bay, and Vizcaino thought it better to continue his voyage without delay. He followed the route taken by Cabrillo, sixty years before, touched at Santa Catalina Island, and anchored in the Bay of Pines on the 16th of December. It had taken twenty-six days to reach from San Diego, a distance of less than five hundred miles. The squadron remained some time at anchor in the bay, to which Vizcaino for the first time gave the name of Monterey. The sick were landed and huts built for their shelter. A tent was set up for a chapel under the shade of a particularly large oak tree near the margin of the sea. The Carmelite priests celebrated mass there daily during the stay of the ships. The same tree was standing in 1770, when Monterey was next visited, and its life continued according to Spanish-Californian traditions, down to 1830, when it was overthrown by a gale.

The sanitary condition of the crews of all the vessels had grown worse during the voyage. Sixteen had died since its commencement and most of the sailors and both the sailing masters and their mates were unfit for duty. Vizcaino held a council of his officers to decide whether the

exploration should be continued to the north under the conditions. There was serious danger that enough of the men might not be left to work the ships if the scurvy continued to spread. One of the objects of the expedition was to find the entrance to a supposed strait leading from the Pacific to the Atlantic, near Newfoundland. The myth of its existence had been set afloat in England and Holland during the seventeenth century and a detailed account was even given of a supposed voyage through it by a Spanish merchant vessel. To ascertain whether it really existed was one of the instructions given Vizcaino by the Count of Monterey. The commander was anxious to explore the northern coasts for that end and so it was decided to send back the second vessel to Mexico with the invalids while the flagship and tender should go on towards the north as far as possible. Vizcaino wrote to the Viceroy by the returning vessel that he would remain in the northern seas till the following May, and urged the sending of additional ships and supplies to enable him to continue his explorations after that date. The Capitana accordingly sailed homeward from Monterey while Vizcaino, with the two other vessels, started again northwards in the beginning of January.

The two got separated again in the fogs and the tender made the longer voyage, going up to the forty-third parallel of latitude before the sickness among the sailors forced her commander to turn back, without reaching the farthest point visited by Cabrillo. Vizcaino, in his flagship, passed Cape Mendocino ten days after leaving Monterey, but the scurvy in that time had so spread among his crew that only five men were fit to work. In case of a storm coming on the destruction of the vessel seemed inevitable. Vizcaino reluctantly gave up his search for the Strait of Anian and turned his ship southward. Only four sailors were fit for duty when he reached Santa Catalina, and he did not venture to drop anchor there lest they should not be equal to hauling it up again. The ship kept

on without stop to Mazatlan in Sinaloa, which was reached on the 17th of February. Twenty-five men had died in the seven weeks since leaving Monterey. The ravages of scurvy were a more formidable obstacle to early exploration in the Pacific than those of storm, winds and currents.

How easily the disease might be prevented was shown at Mazatlan. A boat was sent ashore at the island, where as yet there was no Spanish settlement to give a sailor's body Christian burial. One of the party found a wild fruit and tried to bite it with his swollen gums. A flow of purulent blood followed, but the pain of the swelling at once diminished. The sick man tried another fruit and found his relief complete. His comrades gathered the fruits and ate them with the same result. The ship remained three weeks at Mazatlan and by the end of that time all the sick were recovered, and the ship was able to reach Acapulco without a death on board. The tender, which made its way to the same port directly, arrived there with only five survivors of her crew.

The voyage of Vizcaino, like that of Cabrillo, was of importance in the annals of geography, but was followed by no occupation of the lands discovered. The Council of the Indies, indeed, ordered the occupation of Monterey as a military post on receipt of Vizcaino's report, and named him as its governor, but his death in 1608 put a stop to further proceedings. The Mexican authorities could find no one capable to take his place and had little means to carry out colonial projects. They preferred to offer licenses to settle California to private adventurers and several such were issued during the next seventy years. A Captain Iturbi was the first to attempt a settlement in Lower California under a viceregal license. He gave up the task through the difficulty of getting any supplies from the soil but he found valuable beds of pearl oysters on the shores of the Gulf. The settlers in Sinaloa began to work them by fishing schooners but they made no establishments

in California. The effect of the pearl fishery on the natives was anything but beneficial. In the absence of any official supervision, the owners of the fishing schooners often impressed the Californians as divers, and deserters from the crews settled among the savages and taught them the vices of civilized life. The Mexican authorities tried to remedy this in 1632 by granting a commission as governor of the peninsula to Captain Ortega. He began a trading post and mission at La Paz, and brought over a priest from Guadalajara for the latter, but the difficulty of getting provisions soon made him give up the task. The Governor of Sinaloa, with the Jesuit Father Cortez, made a survey of the southern coasts ten years later but did not attempt any colony. The naval Commander Casanate made a larger survey in 1648 with no better success. A hundred and fifty years after its discovery the whole of California still remained in its primitive barbarism.

It is not strange that such should be. There was no rush of immigrants from any European country to America during the two centuries after Columbus. Though Mexico was a Christian country, its white population was small and the civilized part nearly all settled in a limited portion of its territory. Outside the tropics, most of what is now the Mexican Republic was as much in possession of savage tribes during the seventeenth century as the prairies of the Sioux. Both Spaniards and the civilized Indians had all the lands they needed for occupation and neither felt a desire to seek foreign settlements. If they had, the Californian peninsula was the least inviting part of the Spanish domain to attract them. Its soil is singularly barren and nearly waterless, its ports few, it has no rivers, and no mines were known. Cactus and scrub brush were its only timber. It offered no more inducements to private enterprise than Labrador.

The political motives which made the Spanish home government desire its occupation were somewhat stronger. A port of call on the western coast of America was needed

much for communications between the Philippines and Mexico, and to protect the Pacific coasts against forays from the Dutch corsairs from the Moluccas. The Spanish monarchs were all aware of this and anxious for the settlement of California, but the task was beyond the resources of the crown. Philip II. and his son both urged on the Mexican Viceroy establishments in California as a connection between their American and Asiatic colonies. All the rulers of Spain down to Charles III. continued to call for it but with no result. As a matter of fact the task was too costly for the resources of the crown in America. Though the kings of Spain were nominally in control of half the American continent, in practice their power for action there was less than that of the rulers of European states, like Savoy or Venice. They had neither a regular army nor navy in America before the middle of the seventeenth century, there was no organized body of civil servants and no general treasury. The mining tax of fifths on the precious metals was the chief source of revenue of the general government. The cities where the Spanish element was numerous levied their own taxes and governed themselves like Spanish municipalities of the sixteenth century. Most of the settled Indians lived in their villages under their own chiefs and with local laws drawn from their native habits and traditions. The Spanish officials, except those of the higher class, like the governors and higher judges, were chosen from the wealthier colonists and had little care for carrying out instructions issued by the Council of the Indies in Madrid or Seville. In case of foreign invasion the Viceroys had no resources for defence except calling for volunteers or forced impressment of doubtful characters. Under such conditions most Viceroys were without the means to fit out costly expeditions, however urgently desired by the home authorities. In any case such required a formidable space of time in view of the slow communication with Europe. Vizcaino's expedition was ordered in Madrid in 1598, but it only sailed

from Acapulco in 1602. The commission for a Californian colony to Otondo was issued in Spain in 1678, but it left Mexico only in 1683.

The details of Otondo's attempt at colonization show how limited the resources of the Spanish government were in America at the time. The Council of the Indies, in 1677, decided that a post in California was needed for the protection of the Philippine trade but it had no funds to establish one. The Viceroy in Mexico had neither ships nor soldiers at his disposal, so the Council authorized him to grant a monopoly of the pearl fisheries in the Gulf and jurisdiction over the peninsula to any Spanish officer who would agree to maintain a garrison there at his own cost. The patent was first offered to Admiral Pinadero who declined it. Another naval officer, Isidro Otondo, then offered to undertake the task, if the treasury would grant him a subsidy for the first years of settlement. The Viceroy's Council agreed, and Otondo's commission was signed by Charles II. in 1678, in the form of a contract. He got the title of Admiral of California with civil jurisdiction over all Europeans in its territory.

It took Otondo five years to complete his preparations. He had two small vessels built in Chacala and bought a brig in Honduras. Settlers were hard to get and it was with much difficulty that a hundred were enlisted, most of them being the poorest class of Mexicans. They showed their deficiencies as soldiers during the first stages of settlement, but no others could be raised for such an undertaking. The ships sailed from Chacala in 1683 with this unpromising company.

Three Jesuit priests went with them as missionaries. The Viceroy had asked them of the Provincial in accordance with the general practice of the Spanish government in colonizing expeditions. Father Kuehn, the superior, was selected on account of his skill as a map maker, as he had to discharge that duty as well as his clerical functions.

His companions, Copart and Goni, were to be chaplains to the colonists and missionaries to the savages.

The settlement was unfortunate from its commencement. Otondo's ships anchored in the Bay of La Paz after two weeks' voyage. It had been a haunt of Dutch buccaneers a few years earlier, and on that account was selected for the post. Good anchorage and a few springs of fresh water summed up its natural advantages. No timber, no arable land, even no pasturage was to be found, and the cactus brush which covered the hills around was nearly impassible to Europeans. No natives were seen when the ships arrived. The crews landed and marked out a site for the post, which was surrounded with a trench and earth works. In a few days a large body of Indians appeared in war paint and armed with bows and lances. They made threatening signs but the Jesuits went to meet them and offered biscuits. The warriors laid down their bows and devoured the gifts greedily. Hunger was the common condition of life in California, and the visitors to Otondo's camp were no exception. Some of them came with the priests to the camp to ask for more and the others went back to the hills without further demonstrations. More Indians came in a few days, but their language was unintelligible to the newcomers. The commander gave them an object lesson in the weapons of his men. One held up a shield of leather and invited the warriors to try their arrows on it. The flint-tipped reeds fell harmlessly from the target. Three shields were then placed together and pierced by a gun shot. The surprise of the Indians was marked and for some time they treated the Spaniards with respect and allowed them to complete their camp and explore the land unmolested. A few brush huts and a church of the same materials were erected and one of the vessels was then sent to the Yaqui River for provisions.

The good will of the Indians only lasted a few weeks, and in June, a large party came to the fort and ordered the Spaniards to leave at once. The admiral went out

alone and by his boldness succeeded in making them retire. More serious trouble was near. A mulatto of the crew deserted, to live among the natives. A report was spread that he had been murdered by them and Otondo hastily accepted it. He seized one of the chiefs as a hostage, and when a party came to ask for his liberation they were fired on and several killed. The Indians broke off relations with the post, and rumors of war became current. Otondo's men had little of soldiers but the name, they completely lost courage and begged the admiral to abandon the post. The panic was such that he thought it necessary to transport them to some islands near the bay and abandon the fort. Provisions, too, were running short. Otondo sailed to the Yaqui and by trading the tools and furniture intended for the settlement got some provisions and returned with them. He did not occupy the original fort, but selected a site about sixty miles further up the Gulf, to which the name of San Bruno was given from the day when it was first occupied.

The Indians around San Bruno were different in language from the tribe of La Paz and no hostilities occurred. The admiral took care to treat them with kindness, and the Jesuits began to learn their language and collect both grown men and children for instruction. The Indians had little occupation to hinder their attendance at the lectures and enjoyed the novelty of teaching their language to the Europeans. As soon as the priests were able to speak it with some ease, Fr. Copart began the composition of a "Doctrina" or short catechism. He had much difficulty in finding Indian words to express the ideas of Christian teaching, but finally, by the help of the children, he succeeded fairly. The savages took interest in the teaching, and nearly four hundred came to the instructions and asked to be made Christians. The priests did not think it right to baptize any, except in danger of death, in the uncertain state of the settlement. They were satisfied with the dispositions of their pupils, but desired time to prove

whether these were permanent or only the effects of childish caprice.

The satisfaction felt by Father Kuehn and his priests with the results obtained was not shared by the admiral or his soldiers. San Bruno was as barren as La Paz and all provisions had to be brought from Sonora or Sinaloa. The pearl beds near were poor, and a journey of fifty leagues into the interior, showed no sign of good lands anywhere. Mesquite bushes and cacti seemed the only vegetation that could live in the arid soil and to make matters worse it was a season of unusual dryness. No rain fell during eighteen months and the country seemed a Sahara to the soldiers and sailors. Sickness broke out and after a year the men addressed a petition to the admiral to take them away at any cost. Their discontent can hardly be called unreasonable. The colonies attempted by Americans at Mulege and Magdalena Bay within the last thirty years were as unsuccessful as Otondo's settlement at San Bruno.

The admiral called a council of his officers and the priests. The latter pleaded for the continuance of the settlement and declared their readiness to bear any hardships for that object. The military and naval officers advised the abandonment of the post. The admiral decided to send the invalids to Sinaloa and ask a decision from the Viceroy on the question of maintaining the post at San Bruno. In the meantime he went up the gulf to search for a more promising location and also for pearl fisheries.

The Viceroy, on receipt of Otondo's report, called a council of ministers. It was found that the expense already incurred amounted to over two hundred thousand dollars, and also that the treasury had no further available funds. Otondo was notified of both facts and told to maintain the colony if he could. He decided to bring his men back to Mexico. The Viceroy and council subsequently offered an annual subsidy of thirty thousand dollars for establishing the settlement anew. The Provincial of the Jesuits in Mexico was asked to undertake it, but the

difficulties appeared too great and the offer was respectfully declined. The Viceroy and council decided that further attempts at settling California would be useless and so reported to the home authorities.

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

CHAPTER II

Conquest and Conversion in Early Colonization

The failures in colonization, which occupy the first hundred and fifty years of California's history, are like the story of other European settlements in many lands. Raleigh's plantation in Virginia was abandoned after four years, though his associate, Grenville, called it "the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven," and Barlow compared the fragrance of its woods to "that of some delicate garden abounding in sweet smelling flowers." The first settlements in New England were even shorter lived. Gosnold and Popham had to bring back their followers from Maine as Otondo did his from California. The tale of sufferings, through cold and scurvy, of the early French settlers on the St. Lawrence is a counterpart of Viscaino's voyage to the Bay of Monterey. Jacques Cartier visited Montreal the same year that Cortez landed in California, but it was seventy years later before the first French settlement was founded in Canada. Twenty years after Otondo's time the English government abandoned its only African settlement at Tangier. The pioneer Scotch colony at Darien had failed absolutely a little earlier. No other Europeans had yet attempted settlements on any shore of the Pacific Ocean.

The Californian peninsula with all its drawbacks was occupied by civilized man nearly as soon as Pennsylvania. Its settlement, however, was not formed on commercial or political interests such as inspired Otondo. It was of a class common in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, but almost unknown in those of other European nations. These settlements had as their object the formation of savage tribes to civilized life, not the occupation of their territory by colonists. Paraguay, Vera Paz and the Philip-

pines are examples of this form of missionary occupation. In the official language of Spain they were described as reductions, and the natives said to be "conquered and organized" when they received Christianity. The conquests in question were understood to be entirely of a spiritual kind and made without any compulsion or military force. To understand the real nature of the mission settlements in the Spanish colonies and the part taken in them by the rulers of Spain, a sketch of the circumstances under which the system was formed is needed.

The special features which mark the religious administration of the natives in the Spanish colonies all through their existence, were chiefly that it was kept quite distinct from the ordinary parish system of the European population and that the Indian missionaries were considered by the government as official guardians and legal protectors of their converts as well as their teachers. No such privilege was accorded anywhere to the ordinary secular clergy and it ceased whenever a population of Indians was transferred from the class of converts to that of old Christians. The missionaries were almost all drawn from the religious orders, and under direction of their superiors, with only a limited subjection to the bishops in their ordinary work. They were further recognized by the crown legally as its own representatives towards the natives and as such were in general exempt from interference on the part of the Spanish Governments or military officers. In that, they had nearly the authority of modern Indian agents in our own country. Mission Indians, too, were exempt from taxation, and Europeans, other than the priests, were not allowed to encroach on their lands or settle among them. The system was a very definite part of the Indian policy of Spain and was regulated by decrees of the Council of the Indies embodied in the colonial code.

The mission system had its origin in the small success which attended the conversion of the natives by the Spanish secular clergy in the first West Indian Colonies, and

the oppression often exercised there under plea of religious objects. It was formed gradually by the zeal of a number of devoted men in the early half of the sixteenth century, of whom the most prominent was Las Casas, himself in succession a secular priest, a Dominican and a colonial bishop, as well as legal "Protector of the Indians." He and his fellow-thinkers were convinced of the injustice of depriving any class of men of their natural liberty, even for the sake of their own improvement. They were all zealous for the conversion of the Indians as the highest boon that could be bestowed on them, but they held that conversion could only be effected rightly by the free consent of even savages. These principles were not new in theory at the discovery of America, but they had been ignored largely in practice by the men of the first Spanish colonies. The rulers of Spain recognized the justice of the position taken by Cordova, Las Casas and their fellows and the legally recognized mission system was the result after many years of struggle with local passions and interests.

When Columbus brought tidings of the new lands which he had discovered for the Spanish crown, Isabella the Catholic declared it a duty incumbent on her own conscience to provide for instruction of the American population in Christianity. She enjoined it on Columbus when sending him to found the first American colony and coupled it with orders to respect the liberty and property of the natives. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the Queen in giving those orders. When the admiral interpreted them as not forbidding the making of slaves, she at once condemned his action. Columbus sent a cargo of Indian prisoners to be sold for the benefit of the royal revenue in Spain but the Queen ordered the captives to be restored in freedom to their native land and forbade her admiral to dare deprive any Indian of his liberty for the future. The slave trade on which Columbus appears

to have largely counted for the immediate funds to develop the colony was brought to a sudden end.

Isabella's orders, however, did not prevent a system of serfdom being set up by her colonial officials in evasion of her orders. The early settlers were incapable of long sustained work under a tropical sun and work was necessary for the support of the colony. The natives had no inclination to work otherwise than their old fashion and cared nothing for wages. The colonists quickly decided that they must be made to work by force and found plausible arguments for such a course. It was urged that such was the only way to bring the savage under civilizing influences and provide for their instruction in religion so warmly recommended by the Queen. The "encomienda" or grant system was established by Columbus and continued by his successors in the West Indian Colonies. Its form was much the same as that of the grants made by the older Spanish sovereigns of districts won back from the Moors in war. The West Indian governors assigned districts in San Domingo with their inhabitants to Spanish colonists to "protect, instruct and defend against outside enemies" as representatives of the sovereign. The grantees got no pay from the crown but were allowed to collect reasonable taxes from the natives protected by them. In outward form there seemed nothing in the encomienda system incompatible with freedom like that enjoyed by the Spanish population at home. In practice, however, it was widely different. The natives of San Domingo had no standards of value by which their taxation could be assessed and they had only their personal labor to pay it in. Most of the encomenderos obliged their tenants, as they were supposed to be in Spanish law, to give their entire time to working their lord's plantations or mines. It was slavery under another name but of the severest kind.

After the death of Isabella, Ferdinand, her husband, became Regent of Castile and ruler of the West Indies. His own sentiments on the right policy to be followed to-

wards the native Americans were the same as his wife's, but he had little chance to attend to the administration of the small colony beyond the Atlantic in the complications of European affairs at the time. A board known as Council of the Indies was formed at Seville to manage the American colonies and its president, Fonseca, was practically the representative of the Spanish government as far as the colonists were concerned. Fonseca though a bishop was a cold-hearted politician, and easily accepted the existing system as a political necessity. For twenty years the natives continued to dwindle away under its influence without comment from the representatives of government.

Their instruction in religion seems to have had little more attention during those years than that in material civilization. Isabella obtained the foundation of the diocese of San Domingo and endowed it from the royal treasury but the diocesan clergy only felt bound strictly to the religious service of their Christian countrymen. Twelve Franciscans were also sent out by the Queen with Ovando in 1502 specially for conversion of the natives. They found it almost impossible to win the confidence of a people harassed by the constant changes of residence and works imposed on them and besides distracted by numerous petty wars with the strangers. The material interests of the colony took precedence with the colonial authorities of any serious instruction of the heathen natives. Many were trained by individuals but the majority were left absolutely without Christian instruction despite the strong orders of the Queen.

In fairness to the first secular clergy of the West Indies, it should be said mission work among heathen races was unknown in Europe at the time. The fifteenth century was the period of least missionary extension in the whole history of the Church. The Lithuanians, the last European race to receive Christianity, had enrolled themselves under the spiritual authority of the Popes at its beginning, and

the growth of the Mahometan powers, from the conquest of Russia by the Tartars to the capture of Constantinople, had put an end to the foreign missions in China and Central Asia which Franciscans and Dominicans had successfully carried on during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In Spain Jews and Mahometans were the only non-Christians known, and arguments on religion with either were on lines utterly different from those that might appeal either to the reason or goodwill of men in the condition of the natives of the West Indies. The scholastic training of the European universities gave little guidance for the instruction of savages of childlike intelligence and strange dialects in the ideas of Christian revelation. This was curiously illustrated by the documents drawn up in evident good faith for the instruction of the Indians by the theologians of Ferdinand. The most famous, known as the "Requirimento," or summons, was ordered to be sent to any tribes that threatened the settlers before beginning hostilities against them. It recited briefly the leading facts of Christian history, the Creation, Redemption, establishment of the Church and the grant of America by a Pope to the Spanish sovereigns, and ended by requiring the hearers to accept the Faith and the Spanish rulers' authority with a promise of great privileges if they did and of chastisement if they did not. The missionary invitation was in fact in the form of the summons often given to revolted towns which had plundered churches or abbeys in some riot. It is needless to say it was wholly incomprehensible to the natives. In both the West Indies and Venezuela the only use made of it was to give raids on Indian villages for plunder or slaves the color of lawful war. The zeal of the Spanish sovereigns for conversion was made the pretext for disobeying their orders in favor of freedom.

The friars and other priests in the islands soon found that native acquiescence in their teaching was mostly a mere form and implied no comprehension of the doc-

trines offered them. It made many incline to accept the general opinion of the colonists that a condition of serfdom was the only practical means of conversion. There were also other new problems in morals as well, which helped to make that judgment plausible. As Christians might forfeit justly their personal freedom for grave offences against public morality, it was hard to see why heathens might not also lose their freedom on similar grounds. Some practices found among the native Americans, as polygamy, cannibalism and scalp hunting, were repugnant to the natural law of morals. It was argued by many that the tribes which indulged in such should be made slaves as a public duty. These arguments were accepted as good by most colonial authorities and not condemned by the local bishop. They were used with the Council of the Indies as a justification for the continuance of slavery, in spite of the royal decrees against it for many years. That body tacitly endorsed them without reference to the royal government, which was too much occupied with other objects to review the actions of the Council of the Indies. In San Domingo itself slavery and serfdom were regarded by the majority of the colonists as perfectly legitimate from a Christian point of view as well as essential to the existence of the colony from a material one.

Even among the settlers, however, at this time public conscience on this point was not altogether dead, and voices after a time were raised against the existing system as contrary to Christian justice, even if sanctioned by law and the Council of the Indies. The principles laid down by Isabella were appealed to by men who had passed years as planters or officials in the colonies when they seemed forgotten at home. Spanish colonial history is exceptional in the importance given to moral rights over material interests, both by the rulers of Spain and a section, at least, of the colonists themselves. The policy of Isabella was endorsed in spite of the practical difficulties its application involved by all her successors down to

Charles III. "In all the provinces of the Indies," a Spanish statesman, Vasquez, wrote to Philip III., "there have been, since the first and now are, two classes among the Spaniards,—one the conquerors and landlords, the other the religious men who have gone forth to teach and to convert the Indians." A like statement could not certainly be made of the colonies of any other European race, of England, Holland or France.

Deeds of violence and wrong to the weaker races unfortunately have marked the history of European colonization almost everywhere during the years since Columbus began his first colony. If those committed by the early Spanish conquerors, who for more than a century were the only representatives of Europe in colonization enterprise, have been more widely published than others, the chief reason is because they were more vigorously condemned by their own countrymen, without regard for national prejudices. In the sixteenth century the moral sense of the Spanish people revolted more keenly at cruelty and oppression of the Indians than did that of England or Holland in the seventeenth and eighteenth, when their colonizations began. The destruction of the natives of San Domingo and Cuba is familiar to all, while the like extermination of the Tasmanians, the Bojesmen and Hottentots of South Africa, and even those of the old New England tribes, are hardly spoken of. It is mainly so because the Spanish historians held justice above national vanity and interests and denounced the misdeeds of their countrymen in strong language, while those of England or Holland kept silence on the atrocities of their countrymen. Neither England nor Holland has produced a Las Casas.

Isabella's orders for preserving the freedom of the native Americans and teaching them religion had, after fifteen years, only resulted in those of San Domingo having been made serfs and left uninstructed. The first protest against Indian slavery after the Queen's death came

from a body of Spanish friars. A community of Dominicans was sent from the convent of San Esteban in Salamanca to San Domingo in 1509. Its members were mostly men of high education and very austere life, and they were favorably received by the devout among the colonists. They had no revenues, but built a small wooden convent and church, which was largely attended by the chief citizens. The condition of the natives, who had been divided into encomiendas among the settlers, and were forced to work without compensation, was new to the Dominicans, and its injustice revolted their conscience. Fray Montesino, their most popular preacher, astonished and angered his congregation by the declaration that to make slaves of free men was as criminal as robbery or murder, and that slaveholders could not be absolved without restoring liberty to their Indian slaves. Though the learning of Montesino was acknowledged, this doctrine was not received readily in San Domingo. The leading men of the city called on the Dominican prior, gave the usual arguments for serfdom, and demanded that Montesino should apologize for his language. The prior, Pedro de Cordova, who was also the first representative of the Spanish Inquisition on American soil, informed them that the opinions of Montesino were shared by all the Dominicans. The next Sunday the preacher repeated his denunciation from the pulpit. He added that no Dominican would absolve those guilty of holding Indians in unlawful bondage. Christian oppressors of heathens, he declared, had no more hope of salvation than impenitent Turks or Moors.

The incident made a deep public sensation through the colony. The governor and Council tried to overawe the outspoken community by threats of leaving them without means of support, and, finding they made no impression on their resolution, they addressed a memorial to the General of the Order, asking for the removal at least of Cordova from office. They also sent a special agent to the Spanish court, charging him with disturbing the public

by rash and exaggerated theories of religion. The prior thought it necessary to send Montesino to Spain as his representative to lay the facts before both the secular authorities and his own superior. The community was quite without money, and it was with much difficulty the champion of native rights got even a passage to Seville. At landing he found it still harder to get a hearing from the government officials. The President of the Council of the Indies was of high influence, and he had not only permitted Indian serfdom, but was himself interested personally in plantations. The representations of the colonial authorities were received with approval and the Dominican found himself frowned on emphatically nearly everywhere.

He was not discouraged, but stated his case to some of his own order, and got their endorsement. He next won over a Franciscan who had been sent by the governor of San Domingo to urge the reasons for continuing the existing system on religious as well as political grounds. The Franciscan, after some conversation, was convinced of the justice of the claims of Montesino, and gave his own adherence to them. Montesino was emboldened at last to force his own way into the King's private chamber, despite the opposition of a porter, and there laid his story before Ferdinand himself. The old King at first resented the intrusion, and taxed his visitor with lack of prudence in disturbing the peace of the colony. He heard him, however, and was so struck by the statements laid before him that he promised a full investigation, and meantime gave Montesino free access to himself at will.

Fray de Cordova himself arrived shortly afterwards in Seville, and was readily received by the King in spite of the opposition of the Bishop of Burgos. After hearing Cordova, he called a committee of theologians to give their judgment on the lawfulness, from a Catholic point, of the system of serfdom and other points in the colonial government, as described by the Dominicans. The Span-

ish theologians agreed in condemning the practices described. Ferdinand then called a royal council of ministers to find remedies for the existing evils. The agents of the colonists and the two Dominicans were confronted before the Council, and, in spite of the weight of wealth and political influence on the side of the first, the Council decided that the claim of the latter for protection of the natives should be granted. A body of regulations for the colonies was drawn up and signed by Ferdinand in 1513, three years after Montesino's denunciation of slavery in San Domingo. The code is known in Spanish history as the Laws of Burgos.

An incident in the early history of Georgia has a curious resemblance to the course of Ferdinand in calling theologians to give judgment on the morality of a public policy. Oglethorpe, the founder of the colony, was strongly opposed to slavery, and declared that his plantation was formed only for free men. A community of Moravians from Salzburg was invited as settlers, mainly because they held slavery in any form to be against their belief. Ten years after the German settlers were established in Georgia the need of laborers was felt, and it was suggested that negroes could be bought profitably to meet it. The question of the sinfulness of negro slavery was raised and submitted to a council of Protestant divines in Germany. That body pronounced that if slavery would make heathens Christians, its use was not only lawful but meritorious in the slave owners. Negro slavery was thenceforth the rule in Georgia.

The Laws of Burgos were the first legislative code prepared by European statesmen for the protection of subject uncivilized races. Some of their provisions are striking in their likeness to modern ideas. The policy of Isabella towards the natives was recited and endorsed. The chief defect, as far as protection for the Indians, was that the code still allowed prisoners of war to be treated as slaves. The Spanish authorities were, indeed, ordered to make no

wars except in self-defense, but, as Cordova pointed out, it would be easy to evade this prohibition if profit were to come from slave-making. In justice to the Council, it must be remembered that throughout Europe at the time it was customary to keep prisoners of war at work until ransomed. More than a century later, it may be added, the New England Puritan plantations classed slaves made in war as a lawful part of their revenues.

In other respects the system of Indian government framed by Ferdinand's councilors was like the system of feudal landlordism as it then existed in most parts of Europe. The natives were to be formed into village communities, each with its own lands and ruled by its own chiefs. The members of each were not to leave their own district, and they were required to perform a certain amount of work, for their own support and public improvements. The maintenance of schools and churches was part of the duties they had to perform of a public kind. To see that this was done and the general laws of the country obeyed, a Spanish official was given the charge of each village. He was obliged to protect the country by his own military service in case of war and to administer justice in peace, and for these services was to receive a certain fixed amount of the products of the fields and herds. The system was not unlike, in form, that introduced by William the Conqueror into Saxon England after the battle of Hastings. It had also some points of resemblance with the existing methods of Dutch rule in Java. The importance laid on public instruction and the duties of the administrators in that respect are the chief distinctive features of the Spanish code.

The two Dominicans were by no means satisfied with the fullness of the relief granted the natives, but they had to accept it, and both returned at once to the West Indies. Cordova now determined to send his Dominicans among the Indians still remaining in their native condition without any officials to impede their work by tyranny. He

believed that the savages could be won to the Faith more readily by priests unattended by other Spaniards. Up to this time the Spanish clergy had only formed part of the general community of Europeans, and shared the protection of the dominant race. Cordova and his companions desired to imitate the friars of the fourteenth century, who had penetrated alone to China and Tibet, and built up large Christian communities there by moral force alone. The Franciscans of San Domingo joined the Dominicans in the attempt. Two mission convents were planned near the site of what is now Cumana, in a part of Venezuela which was still independent, though visited by pearl fishers from the West Indies. Montesino was named superior of the first Dominican community there, but he was detained on his voyage at Porto Rico by an attack of fever.

The Inquisitors' project was derided as folly by the planters, who declared it impossible to make any impression on Indian intelligences without the use of force. The Franciscan and Dominican missionaries went on unappalled. They landed in Venezuela without guards, built huts for residences and churches, and began to instruct the natives and study their language. They were well received at first, but the temper of the natives changed a few weeks afterwards when a trading vessel from San Domingo kidnaped a number of their countrymen. They avenged the act in savage style by burning the two convents and killing some of the unarmed missionaries. A cousin of Fray de Cordova was among the latter. The authorities at San Domingo felt little surprise at the occurrence, but they hastened to avenge it without mercy. The district which the missionaries had hoped to make Christian was ravaged and a number of its natives brought to San Domingo and there sold as slaves under the provisions of the Laws of Burgos. The self-devotion of the friars seemed only to make wider the slavery which they had devoted their lives to destroy.

The utterances of one who was himself the partner and friend of Cordova at this time deserve to be quoted here, though uttered thirty-five years later at the Council of Valladolid on the occasion of an almost identical occurrence in Florida. Another Dominican, Fray Luis Cancer, after many years of mission work, had been slain by the Indians in revenge for some outrages committed on them by a European vessel. His murder was used as an argument for the necessity and justice of wars of conquest against the American savages by a scholar of high note, Sepulveda, made before the Council of Philip II. in 1550. The value of that argument was denied by a colleague of the martyr in his missions, then bishop of Chiapa and seventy-seven years old. He deeply felt his friend's loss and praised his merits as well known to himself, but he maintained that the slaying of missionaries by men who did not know their objects gave no warrant for war on the slayers by Christian rulers, and even less for the giving over attempts at their conversion. He went on to state his own sentiments thus: "It is a divine and most fitting law that some of the servants of the Gospel should die for the Gospel, since by their precious death they may help the conversion of unbelievers more than by their sweat and toil in life. So we trust that Fray Luis Cancer, who was a well-known servant of God, helps and will help to convert his slayers. For sake of his merit God our Lord will look on them with eyes of pity, since they know not what they do. In their minds they know not that it is friars and servants of God that they slay, but think them enemies from whom they have had wrong done them. And this is the true divine way, established by God himself to preach the gospel and win souls."

The foundation of these first convents in Venezuela, their motives and fate, and the steps taken in consequence of their destruction by the civil authorities on the one hand and the Spanish friars on the other, mark the beginning of the new system of missions in America. Its elab-

oration to full shape was the result of many years' subsequent struggle and study, in which the foremost place was filled by the very man whose conception of mission work was embodied in the words just quoted. That man was Bartolome Las Casas.

CHAPTER III

The Evolution of the Spanish Mission System

It is wholly reasonable to take the program of methods of conversion, put forth at the Spanish court in the middle of the sixteenth century by a bishop high in favor with the King, as a true statement of the motives which inspired the early Spanish missionaries. It was no declamation, nor outburst of youthful enthusiasm, but the deliberate expression of one long past the seventieth year of a life spent in work of the kind which he argued for liberty to continue. Indeed the life of Las Casas is almost a summary of American history from the discovery of San Domingo to the colonization of the Philippines in the year of his death. His father sailed with Columbus on his second voyage. While a college student, the young Bartolome received the present of one of the slaves sent over by the Admiral and returned to their homes by Isabella. He, as a colonist, sailed with Ovando for San Domingo in 1502, and from that time till his death at the age of ninety-four, his activity never seemed to flag. He was in succession a miner in San Domingo, a military leader with Velasquez in the conquest of Cuba, a leading layman, the priest of a parish, a social reformer, the intimate of kings and ministers, a legislator in Spain, a colonial projector in South America, and the official protector of the Indians through all the Spanish colonies. The destruction of his colony in Venezuela, when he was past his fiftieth year, drove him to become a Dominican, and opened new fields for an energy that seemed to have no bounds. As a missionary to the natives of Guatemala, a student of native languages, a Bishop in Mexico, the Councilor of Charles V. and Philip II., and the general molder of the Indian policy of their governments, and as

a scholar and historian, the last forty years of his life were as full as the first.

Las Casas was a writer as well as a worker, and his literary labors alone would be too much for the lives of most men even of high talents. He gathered the largest record of facts relating to the first history of America made by any man. His history of the Indies is the fullest collection of the facts of the first settlement of the new world, and it was only one of many works, historical, religious, political and controversial. At ninety he wrote a monograph on Peru with all the fire of youth. He shared in the confidence and councils of Ferdinand of Arragon, of Ximenes, of Charles V., and of Philip II. The historic statesmen of Europe, Gattinara, Los Cobos, Melchior Cano, Carranza and Pope Adrian IV. were his associates and correspondents. He confronted Pizarro in Peru and Alvarado in Guatemala in the most stirring times of Spanish conquest. The New Laws of Charles V., which settled the question of Indian slavery, and the execution of which caused a civil war that nearly separated Peru from the Spanish dominions, were largely due to his influence. He refused the bishopric of Cusco, the old seat of the Incas, when offered by Charles V., and he died in poverty as a simple Dominican at the age of ninety-two. Seventeen times he crossed the Atlantic. Four times he followed Charles V. into Germany. He traveled on foot from Honduras to Chiapa at seventy years of age, and ten years earlier he made the journey from Mexico to Honduras in the same fashion. Through the whole period of Spanish conquest Las Casas stands out in history like some protecting spirit of the Indian race. Velasquez, Cortez, Pizarro, Almagro, De Soto, the discoverer of the Mississippi, Cabeza de Vaca, the founder of La Plata, Valdiva, the conqueror of Chile, all came into contact with him in their careers of victory, and all had to face his rebukes.

Not even Cortez or Pizarro could surpass the personal

courage in face of danger of the unarmed priest who confronted them in the flush of victory with his claims of the ascendancy of moral right over brute force. In San Domingo in 1531 Las Casas went alone among a tribe of revolted natives, who for several years had defied the power of the local government and brought them to peace on honorable terms by his personal influence. Three years later he repeated a like action with an independent tribe in a district of Guatemala which had several times driven off Spanish invaders. Still later, when, as an advocate of native rights, his entry as bishop into the Spanish town of Ciudad Reale was barred by a mob of the colonists, and the frightened friars of the neighboring convent urged him not to risk a meeting with the excited populace, he asked why they should think God so unmerciful to the citizens as to permit them to slay him, and he went on fearlessly. The expression was in full harmony with the sentiments expressed on the slaying of Fray Cancer.

Even before beginning his career as a protector of the natives, Las Casas had shown much humanity in his conduct towards them. While accompanying Velasquez in the colonization of Cuba, the Spanish soldiers on one occasion were seized with a sudden panic in consequence of long exposure to the tropical climate. They started from their noon siesta and attacked a peaceful party of natives carrying in provisions. The officers lost their heads, except Las Casas, who rushed unarmed into the thick of the fray, beat down the sabres of the frantic soldiers, and drove them away from their victims. He used very strong language to Velasquez himself and the other officers on this occasion, and indeed all through his career Las Casas showed an absence of flattery that was remarkable, as well as an indifference to personal honors or the comforts of ordinary life. When bishop of Chiapa he retained all the strictest austerities of the Dominican convent, and never ate meat, though it was provided for others at his table. His dress was usually threadbare,

and he allowed only earthenware to be used at his table. His personal austerity was the more remarkable, as Las Casas was over fifty when he joined the Dominicans.

His language towards the rulers of Spain when pleading the cause of the natives was strikingly bold. While seeking the grant of Venezuela as a mission province, he told Charles V. that he had not traveled from America for his sake, but for God's work, and that, except for his duty as a subject, he "would not cross the council chamber to conciliate the royal favor." To Carranza, the confessor of Philip II., thirty years later he wrote for that monarch's perusal: "What right have our sovereigns to lay tributes on the helpless Indians to pay the debts of their crown? If the King errs in this great matter, can he plead invincible ignorance?"

The political principles laid down by Las Casas, with the approbation, evidently, of both monarchs, are as remarkable as his zeal. A synod of the bishops of Mexico and heads of the orders, held in 1545, laid down as principles that could not be denied, first, that "all unbelievers have a just right to their possessions, whatever sins they might have done against national, natural or divine law," and further that "the only reason why the Apostolic See had given supreme authority over the Indies to the kings of Castile was that the Indians might learn the Gospel and be converted, not to make those kings richer or more powerful." These doctrines were repeated by Las Casas, personally, in his public dispute with Sepulveda, the history writer of Charles V., in 1550, at Valladolid. It was held before a body of fourteen theologians and councilors named by the Crown, and so lacked nothing of publicity. The decision of the Junta was divided, but the government itself approved the theory of Las Casas by forbidding Sepulveda's argument in favor of royal authority to be published or sent to America. The bishops' conclusion was this on the right of war: "To base our rights on our superiority in arms

and our bodily strength being more than that of the Indians, is to put our kings in the position of tyrants. Their right rests on their spreading the Gospel in the new world, and their governing the Indians rightly. To deny this is to flatter and deceive our monarchs and to imperil their salvation. The accessory is temporal gain; the principal end the teaching of the true faith. He knows little who cannot understand this, and he who denies this is no more a Christian than Mahomed was."

The personal efforts of Las Casas and the strong influence which his zeal and energy won over four successive rulers of Spain, and at least one Pope, had a predominant share in forming the Indian policy of Spain and especially of its attitude towards missions. The causes which led him to devote his life to the protection of the Indians and their conversion are told by himself, and connect his career decidedly with the first Dominican champions of native rights. He had come to San Domingo with Ovando as a settler, and after some years felt a vocation to the priestly state, and was ordained by the bishop of San Domingo in 1509. His was the first ordination conferred in America, and the occasion was celebrated with public rejoicings by the Spanish colonists and the Admiral Diego Columbus. Shortly afterwards, when Montesino preached his first sermon against the oppression of the natives, Las Casas was among the audience. He did not accept the preacher's doctrine at the time any more than the rest of the colonists. He went soon after with Velasquez on his expedition to take possession of Cuba, and when that colony was formed he had no scruple in accepting the grant of an Indian district and its population. He settled on it as a planter in partnership with Pedro Renteria, an unmarried official of singularly benevolent nature. Las Casas continued his clerical duties as a parish priest after receiving this grant, but they were not heavy among the scanty European population, and by his own account

he paid little care to the instruction of his Indian vassals for some time.

While preparing one of the rare sermons he was used to deliver to his flock, Las Casas was suddenly struck by the injustice of the existing system of serfdom. The words of Montesino came back to his recollection, and he now admitted their truth. He was prompt to act on his conviction and at once told the governor that he could not retain native serfs under subjection. Velasquez begged him to reflect, but Las Casas would only wait till the return of his partner, who was then in Jamaica on some business affairs. By a strange coincidence Renteria, while in Jamaica, had made a retreat in a convent and had conceived opinions on the subject of Indian slavery identical with those of his partner. At their first meeting each learned with astonishment and delight the thoughts of the other, and both resolved at once not only to give up their vassals but to spend their property and lives in making atonement for past errors. La Renteria thought the best means of reparation would be to form an orphanage for destitute native children, who might there be both supported and instructed. Las Casas thought it would be more practically useful to the Indian population if he should go to Spain and induce the royal government to enact suitable legislation for native protection. Renteria agreed, and it was decided that their joint capital should be turned into money with which to meet the cost of the voyage. Las Casas and he then resigned their grant to the governor, and the former took leave of his congregation. In his parting sermon he stated the reasons which convinced himself of the injustice of forced labor among the natives, and urged his parishioners to follow his example.

Las Casas was over forty when he took this resolution to devote his life to the temporal and spiritual interests of the native races. He had been a secular priest about five years at the time and a planter for several years before entering the Church. He left Cuba at once after

bidding an affectionate farewell to Renteria, and sailed for San Domingo to confer with the Dominican prior there on the best way of employing himself for the benefit of the natives. Cordova received Las Casas with joy. He was about sending Montesino again to Spain to get some amendments made in the Burgos Laws, and especially for more efficient administration agency in the colony itself for watching over native interests. Las Casas and Montesino sailed together on that mission.

They reached Seville shortly before the death of Ferdinand. They were introduced to him by the archbishop, and the King promised attention to their requests, but he died within a few weeks. Ximenes, the archbishop of Toledo, then eighty years of age, was named regent during the minority of Charles, then a boy in Belgium. The Dean of Louvain, afterwards Pope Adrian IV., was joined with Ximenes as a colleague. Las Casas got an introduction to the latter, who asked for a detailed statement of the condition of the natives of San Domingo. Las Casas prepared one, and presented it to the Dean. He read it through and then, Las Casas tells us, walked straight to the apartments of Ximenes and laid the facts before him with the indignant question whether such deeds could be tolerated by a Christian government. Ximenes was as indignant as his colleague, and was prompt to act. He sent for Las Casas and desired him at once to draw up a statement of his case for discussion by the Royal Council. It was quickly prepared, and the Council called with equal promptitude. Las Casas was confronted in argument with the bishop of Burgos and other powerful champions of vested rights in the colonies. He won his cause after a long and fierce struggle, and Ximenes ordered the immediate preparation of a new code for protection of the natives in the Spanish colonies. He entrusted the framing of it to Las Casas and Montesino themselves, with the aid of a veteran Spanish jurist as their legal colleague.

The committee worked with diligence, and formed a

full system for native government on Christian principles. It was submitted to the Council of State and discussed there point by point, and some amendments made. It was finally approved by Ximenes as embodying the spirit of the policy of Isabella the Catholic, and became part of the law of Spain. Its main principles were not afterwards materially departed from in later legislation. The action of Ximenes in trusting so important a legislation largely to a simple priest from America without wealth or family influence is remarkable. It suggests in a way the reception given Franklin by the court of Louis XVI. of France.

The most important parts of the new code were its emphatic proclamation of the right of the natives of America to personal freedom and the prohibition of forced labor for private individuals. The natives were not to be removed or allowed to wander from their native places. They were to have fixed dwellings like Europeans, and to be formed into villages, wherever their original tribal associations had been broken up. Where the tribes still existed each was to be recognized as a village, with its native chiefs as its administrators. The new communities were to choose chiefs among themselves. Each community was to be secured undisturbed possession of a sufficient district to support its people. The land was to be cultivated for the general use by the whole population under direction of its chiefs. Provision, was, however, also made that such Indians as desired it should be allotted lands for private cultivation, and should retain the profits for their own use. The government as a rule through the Spanish colonies only granted lands of any kind during their use by the occupiers, and lands left unused reverted to the public domain. In this respect whites and natives were on an equal footing. Landlords of the modern type were not desired by the policy of Spain.

The Indian villages were to be further combined into provinces, over each of which a European administrator was to be appointed by the Crown. His duties were to

see that the cultivation of the soil and the training of the natives in civilization was not neglected, and also to provide for the public defence against hostile tribes and to regulate disputes between the Indian villages. The Spanish governors were not allowed to reside in the native settlements or employ Indians for their own benefit. They were to receive fixed salaries, as were also the Spanish instructors, but these were to be paid by the communities from the common funds, not by individual natives. The object of the Spanish legislators in keeping the native and white races separate was wholly to protect the former against the feudal oppression which, during the preceding twenty years, had been so disastrous to the Indians in San Domingo and other islands. It continued to be a principle of general policy during the whole colonial period of Spanish rule in America.

Though both Las Casas and Ximenes were thus anxious to secure the personal liberty of the native Americans, they did not neglect the further duty of their instruction, both in religion and material civilization. Each village was to have a church and resident priest for the former and a school and hospital for the latter use. The hospitals were not only for the sick, but also asylums for the aged and those incapable of work. In the village schools reading and writing were to be taught to the native children, as well as European trades suited to their wants. Spanish teachers were to be employed at first, and they and the priests were the only Europeans permitted to live permanently in the Indian settlements. The law provided further that as soon as natives could be found sufficiently qualified, they should be employed as teachers. It is worthy of note that, at the time, no system of public schools for the whole population existed in any European country. The legislation of Ximenes was enacted in 1515, more than a century before the landing of the Puritans in New England, and two years before the earliest manifestation of Luther's hostility to the Papacy. The first

attempt at public schools for the working classes in England only dates from the close of the eighteenth century, when Joseph Lancaster began his work.

When the code had been framed, its administration needed equal attention, and this was not overlooked by the keen eyes of the Spanish Cardinal. It is a remarkable proof of his confidence that he desired Las Casas to select personally a body of supervisors for the West Indian colonies, with powers of a Supreme Court over all Spanish officials. Las Casas felt the responsibility too great, and begged Ximenes to choose the agents himself. The latter decided on employing the services of a body of religious men bound by vows of poverty for this end. He selected the Hieronymite Friars, a branch of the Franciscan Order, and wrote to their superior to send some of his best subordinates to Seville. From those the Regent selected a commission to go to the West Indies and watch over the application of the new laws. Las Casas and Montesino returned to America with them as counsellors. The friar commissioners were appointed the highest authority through all the Spanish colonies, which at the time were confined to the larger West Indian islands.

An interesting point in connection with this legislation in favor of Indian freedom was the support given by Las Casas to the introduction of negroes as slaves to San Domingo. Some had already been brought there, and they bore the labor imposed on them with an indifference in striking contrast to its effect on the native Americans. The latter perished by wholesale under the regime of forced labor, while the imported Africans increased rapidly in numbers in their new home. Las Casas, in view of this, and the urgent demands of the settlers for laborers, suggested that new licenses should be granted for the importation of negroes. Ximenes disapproved of such a measure, mainly on the ground that the African population would be much harder to keep under authority than the ordinary American natives. It seems an inconsistency

that both these zealous advocates of freedom for the Indians should have shown no feeling against slavery among the members of another race. It can be explained, however, easily both by the practice of the times and the general Catholic teaching on the subject of slavery from the earliest ages. The latter laid down the general right of all men to their personal freedom and property according to their position in life, and severely condemned any encroachment on either. At the same time it recognized that individuals might forfeit their liberty for various causes, as prisoners do in jails. The usage of the time made even prisoners of war the property of their captors, and, unless ransomed, liable to be kept to forced labor for their benefit. The introduction of the first negro slaves brought to Portugal long before the discovery of America was defended on this ground, and on a further extension of it that slaves once made for just cause would remain permanently in a servile condition. The Spanish government, however, never encouraged negro slavery, though tolerating its existence in its dominions. The attitude of Ximenes was in accordance with the general principles of government at the time and for more than two centuries later in nearly every European country. The sentiments of Las Casas on the subject, both at the time he gave the suggestion, and thirty years later, may best be gathered from his own words in his subsequent writings:

"The clerk (himself) had not reflected in his zeal for saving the Indians, that negroes, too, had the same right to personal freedom as other men. Had he given thought to it, he would not have given such a counsel to gain the whole world, but in forgetfulness, he did indeed give it. Whether God will forgive the priest who gave that counsel in forgetfulness," he adds, "I know not."

No further explanation is needed for friend or foe.

The legislation so carefully framed did not produce the immediate results that might be expected from it in the West Indies. The Hieronymite commissioners were well

intentioned, but they had not sufficient business experience nor force of character to overcome the opposition offered the new laws by the colonists. They effected some reforms, but the native population still continued to diminish under their rule. They had indeed little time for a fair trial, as Ximenes died within a few months, and the Flemish counsellors of Charles V. knew nothing of the Spanish colonies, and left their management to the old council of the Indies. The friar administrators were quietly removed after a couple of years. Las Casas complained severely of what he regarded as their lack of energy in the meanwhile, and, after consultation with Fray de Cordova, he went back to Spain to urge the cause of the Indians with the new authorities of Spain. He got access to Charles V., and won the favor of most of his ministers, but they were all overwhelmed with European affairs and could find little time to give to the distant islands beyond the Atlantic. Finding it impossible to get the colonial governors to comply with the laws of Ximenes, Las Casas, at the advice of Fray de Cordova, devised a new plan for civilizing at least a part of America on Christian methods. He asked for himself a concession to colonize a district in South America with Spanish settlers drawn from the farming class, and with no mixture of the half-soldier adventurers who had hitherto been the chief emigrants to the new colonies. The territory he asked for was what is now the Republic of Venezuela, where the natives were yet undisturbed, except by the visits of pearl fishers from the West Indies. His project had much in common with William Penn's on the Susquehanna nearly two centuries later, but its main object was much more the uplifting of the natives to Christianity than improving the condition of the settlers of his own race. His spirit was missionary, rather than commercial, though he was willing to combine the latter with the former for the sake of practical success. After years of unremitting effort, he obtained the desired patent. He went out to obtain colonists, and suc-

ceeded, but his efforts were baffled by the hostility of the President of the Council of the Indies, who refused to furnish the needed vessels or supplies to bring over the colonists. Las Casas was only able to bring a small number over, mainly at his own expense, and even of these many were induced by the West Indian planters to remain there.

The colonial empire of Spain at this moment was suddenly extended enormously. Cortez conquered Mexico, while Las Casas in Spain was shaping a suitable government for the timid natives of the West Indies. The island colony of San Domingo expanded in a few years to an empire more extensive than Europe, and peopled by races as fierce, and some of them hardly less civilized, than the Moors and Turks of the old world. Expeditions and conquests followed one another for twenty years with bewildering rapidity. Pizarro found a wealthier empire than Motezuma's in Peru, and Almagro pushed on to seek another in Chile. Alvarado conquered Guatemala, and Quesada New Granada. Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean, Orellana the Amazon, and De Soto the Mississippi, all within a quarter of a century. In nearly every case the conquests were made by individuals practically independent of the government in their action towards the natives. The old spirit of hatred of infidels, which had been impressed on the Spanish character during the seven centuries of Moorish war, burned up again in Cortez at the sight of the reeking altars of the Aztec priesthood, and laws made to protect unarmed cultivators found no field for exercise in struggles of life or death, like the sieges of Mexico or Cusco.

While conditions were thus changing in America, the government of Spain itself was going through scarcely less important changes in Europe. The successor of Ferdinand inherited the Austrian dominions, the Low Countries, Naples, Sicily and Sardinia, as well as Castile and Aragon. His election as Emperor of Germany, his constant wars with France, with the greatest of the Turkish

sultans and with the German partisans of Luther, left Charles scarcely a moment to give to the organization of the dominions thrust on him by the victories of Cortez and Pizarro. Amid all the noise of battle and excitement of discovery, the change of nations and institutions, the invasion of Mahometans and the fury of religious dissension in Europe, one man held steadily to the task of saving and converting the natives of America. Las Casas and the Dominicans held on their pleading for Indian rights, as

CHARLES V.

though Solyman or Luther had never existed, or the wealth of Mexico and Peru been revealed to European eyes. Through their efforts the maxims of Ximenes were kept alive in the Indian policy of Spain all through. In 1525 a decree of Charles V. absolutely forbade slavery of Indians for any cause, and both Cortez and Pizarro were checked by the home authorities in their attempts to extend vassalage over the lands they had conquered without aid or permission from the Spanish crown.

Missionaries from Spain followed quickly in the track of Cortez, but they were men of a very different kind from the easy-going chaplains of Columbus or the clergy of the San Domingo colony before Las Casas. Zumarraga, the first bishop of Mexico, and Garces of Tlascala were as determined in their opposition to Indian slavery as Las Casas, and at the same time they made the conversion of the natives by peaceful means their first care. Franciscans, Dominicans and other religious orders followed in numbers, and nearly all showed the same spirit. The Franciscan Motolina with twelve brother priests traveled on foot from Vera Cruz to Mexico within a few months of the capture of the Aztec capital. The Dominican Betanzos followed their example somewhat later. Cortez himself, in his letters to the Spanish government, urged the importance of sending members of the religious orders to convert the new subjects of the crown, and even advised that no other priests should be employed there. His ideas on this subject, it is worth noting, were carried out afterwards in the settlement of the Philippines and their execution had much to do with the almost bloodless character of the Spanish occupation of the group.

Several new methods were brought into practice for mission work by the friars in Mexico. The study of the native languages, of their customs, laws and religion, were taken up with eagerness by the missionary priests as essential to their work. Peter of Ghent, a Franciscan lay brother of remarkable character, distinguished himself as an educator in the Mexican capital during a career of nearly fifty years' duration. He founded a college among other works, where over six hundred Aztec youths were trained in reading and writing, both in their own language and in Spanish; and also in music, carving and European trades. Religion, of course, was not overlooked in the program, and the results obtained by the new methods of the friars were in marked contrast to the sterility of conversions in the West Indies under the old

parochial system of Spain. Bishop Zumarraga reported to Rome over a million of new Christians formed in his diocese within seven years. Indian scholars, like Ixlilitochtli, produced valuable historical and other works, both in Aztec and Spanish. The Sovereign Pontiff, by a formal bull, pronounced the natives fit to receive Holy Orders and entitled to receive the same mental culture as Europeans. Despite the bloodshed, which accompanied the conquests of Cortez, it cannot be denied that the condition of the conquered natives in Mexico was much better than that of the natives of San Domingo before Las Casas.

The latter had no direct part in the first Missions of Mexico. His colony in Venezuela was begun while Cortez was conquering the empire of Motezuma, and with constant opposition from the colonial authorities of the West Indies. The colonists were discouraged by the most dismal predictions, and hampered in getting needed supplies. When a small body was finally brought to Venezuela and a settlement begun there, pearl fishers from Jamaica raided the neighboring coasts and stirred up the natives to hostilities on the peaceful settlers of Las Casas. He started himself for San Domingo to obtain redress, but during his absence the colony was attacked by hostile Indians, its buildings burned and several of its members slain. The others abandoned the country in dismay. Las Casas learned the tidings while making his way in a boat along the shores of San Domingo after a shipwreck. His spirit for the moment seemed crushed by the blow. On reaching San Domingo he retired to the Dominican convent there and, at the advice of Fray Betanzos, another remarkable character, finally entered the order. Fray de Cordova had died of consumption in the meantime and Montesino had gone to a distant mission to find a martyr's death. For some years Fray Bartolome Las Casas gave himself to writing the history of America and study, and his name did not appear in public life.

The Dominican body meanwhile kept up its defence of

native rights, and after five or six years Las Casas was called by his superior to fresh work. He put an end to a native insurrection in San Domingo, which had baffled the power of the colonial government for some years. Las Casas obtained a grant of territory for all the remaining natives of the island, and settled them on it according to the laws of Ximenes. He then visited Spain and afterwards passed to the missions of Mexico in company with Fray Betanzos. He was stationed in a convent recently founded in Guatemala, then newly conquered by Alvarado, and ruled by him as a semi-feudal lordship.

In the meantime Las Casas had not been forgotten at the court of Spain. He continued to write to distinguished men there, and was looked on, both in Spain and America, as the representative of the opinions of the Catholic missionary body. A remarkable incident in 1535 brought his arguments to a practical test. He had published a treatise on "the only method of conversion," in which he laid down as Catholic principles that wars of aggression on the Indians were sinful, and that conversion of unbelievers could not be effected by compulsion, but must be accomplished through persuasion alone. This treatise, published originally in Latin, was translated into Spanish and widely circulated in America, under the auspices of the Dominicans and the Inquisition. It raised violent controversy among the conquerors, the followers of Cortez and Pizarro, who had grown wealthy through the tributes taken from Indians as vassals. The larger number declared that conversion was impossible by such methods as Las Casas would only allow, and that morality, as well as policy, justified the use of force to make Christians.

A practical test of the system advocated by the Dominicans offered itself soon in Guatemala, where Las Casas was then stationed as Prior. A hostile tribe had driven off two invasions of the white men, and their country was known by special title as the Land of War. Las Casas, then about sixty, proposed to the provincial governor to

convert the hostiles and establish peace between them and the Europeans on condition that no soldiers should enter their country, and that if he succeeded, their lands and freedom under their own chiefs should be guaranteed for ever. This remarkable contract was formally drawn up and signed by the Governor of Honduras and the Dominican prior, and also the Bishop of Guatemala. Las Casas and the other Dominicans set to learn the Guatemalan language first and then opened communication with the hostiles through some Indian traders. They were allowed to penetrate among the tribe and won them to belief, and friendship with the Spaniards. Las Casas was not satisfied with instructing and baptising his converts. They were one of the wandering tribes that formed so large a part of the aboriginal races of this continent, and his clear intelligence recognized the need of a more advanced social organization to secure their welfare. Society, in his words, needed two elements, personal freedom and settled abodes under the law. He persuaded his converts to form first one, then other villages, to build churches and attend worship regularly, and to submit their wild independence to some simple laws of social order. The district grew and flourished under this new system and received the name of Vera Paz, or True Peace, instead of Land of War. The practicability of converting savages by persuasion, alone, was clearly demonstrated in this case.

Las Casas, shortly afterwards, was called again to Spain, and the Council of Charles. The emperor was much impressed by his success, and a body of laws was enacted in favor of the Indians in 1542. By them slavery and personal service were absolutely forbidden and all grants of Indian vassals to individuals revoked as far as possible. They were published in all the Spanish colonies but their execution was beyond the power of the emperor himself, however strong the loyalty professed to him. Gonzalo Pizarro headed a rebellion in Peru, killed a Viceroy and threatened to declare himself an independent sov-

ereign. Contreras raised another insurrection in Honduras and still another was threatened in Mexico. The abolition of vassalage had to be suspended indefinitely by royal decree before the authority of Spain would be obeyed by the Spanish conquerors of America. It was several years before it was effectively re-established in Peru, and in all the provinces it was felt that the full equality of the native and white races could not be accomplished by royal legislation alone.

The civilization of the savage tribes, however, continued to be recognized as desirable, both on religious and political grounds. In that the opinions of the colonists were in agreement with public opinion in Spain and the uniform policy of the crown only reflected that opinion. When the dangers of insurrection had passed through the skilful administration of Mendoza and Gasca in Mexico and Peru, the protection of Indian subjects and conversion of the savages were the objects of repeated legislation during two centuries of the Spanish colonial history. Certain practical principles of action had been evolved for mission work in America. The Christian natives in the long settled districts were provided with churches and priests on the ordinary parochial system. The independent tribes were not to be forced into nominal Christianity, but if they desired instruction, the authorities would endeavor to find missionaries for their needs from the various religious orders. If individual priests were willing to attempt conversion at their own risk their work was looked on as serviceable to the public, and their lives ought to be protected against violence, but they should not have the right to call soldiers to aid in coercion of the natives in their villages. Generally the natives were to be left undisturbed in possession of their lands and under their own chiefs after conversion as well as before. The legislation of Ximenes, in fact, continued the basis of the Spanish Indian policy all through the duration of Spanish authority in America. Newly converted tribes were usually

exempted from all taxation and Europeans were not allowed to settle among them or take up their tribal lands. The priests and teachers were the only whites who might remain among the natives. The former had, further, the right of presenting the grievances of their converts to the local authorities or the home government. Otherwise they had no official position. They were neither appointed nor removed by the state authorities nor had the latter any right to interfere in the instruction given the converts by their teachers or in their local self-government. The priests were, however, bound to obey the general laws of the colony and could not enforce labor on their converts by violent means.

CHAPTER IV

The Californian Natives

The system of non-interference with the native tribes, if it kept peace with the European settlers, helped to retard the northward extension of the Spanish frontiers in Mexico after the conquests of Cortez. At the close of the seventeenth century, with the exception of some mining populations in Sonora, the three northern states of the present Mexican Republic were practically Indian territory. The Viceroyalty of New Spain, however, was more extensive than modern Mexico. It included Central America, Texas and New Mexico, and stretched from the Pacific Ocean to the Mississippi, with undefined limits towards the north. It was thus nearly as large as the United States of Jefferson's time, and as the white population of the latter was mostly grouped along the Atlantic Coast, so the civilized Mexicans, whether white or Indian, were mostly gathered in the territory between the Gulf and the Tropic of Cancer. The outlying settlement of New Mexico might be compared to the American in Michigan and Illinois a century later. Elsewhere north of the tropic Spain had no representation of her power beyond a few military posts among independent Indian tribes. The Apaches and Comanches harried the northern settlements much as the Iroquois harried the French Canadians at the same time. The other tribes were generally on peaceful terms with the Spaniards and recognized the Viceroy as their "Great Father," but they often broke out also. Civilization advanced slowly among them by means of missionary teachers, and a small European immigrant population. There was none from Spain, itself, but the Mexican creoles sent occasional colonies out as miners or planters. In Otondo's time the garrisons maintained in Sinaloa were

pronounced useless on the ground that the native population had all become Christians. Several European towns had also grown up there and from the Sinaloa ports Spanish merchants kept up a valuable pearl fishery in the Gulf of California. Missionaries had been at work in Sonora and Pimeria for two or three generations but though they made converts there was no formation of towns and no settlements of Spaniards except a few military posts. Civilization advanced but slowly anywhere in northern Mexico.

In the course of its extension some of the Indian tribes were merged in the older Indian population as "Indios Mansos." Others, like the Yaquis of Sonora, continued to keep their tribal governments as before, when they became Christians. Their relations towards the Spanish government were like those of the Cherokees and Osages, today, to our own. Among the wild tribes, individual missionaries worked as Jogues and Brebœuf did amongst the Iroquois or Father de Smet among the Blackfeet and Flatheads. The Spanish authorities left such work to them. They were satisfied if the Indios bravos maintained peace with themselves, and there were no attempts to bring about their conversion by hostilities. Such a task, indeed, was quite beyond the power of the Spanish government even had it the will to attempt it.

Among the various Indian tribes of New Spain the Californians held a distinct position. Shut off from the mainland by the Gulf, they had no intercourse, friendly or otherwise, either with the Spaniards or the other Indians. They had been driven into the peninsula, according to their own tradition, by stronger races at a period long back, and there they dwelt in isolation for centuries. Though of the same general stock as the other native races, they had acquired many distinctive characteristics through long isolation, and the peculiar nature of the country they dwelt in. These were mostly in the way of degeneration. The other Indians of New Spain were all,

to some extent, agriculturists and raised crops of beans and maize, often by the help of irrigation. In the barren soil of California, its inhabitants had forgotten any ideas of agriculture, if ever they had such. Digging the wild roots of the maguey or camote, or gathering the prickly fruits of the cactus, was their only farming. Though they helped out their support by occasional hunting, they could not be looked on as hunters in the same way as the Sioux and Blackfeet, who found abundant food in the buffalo herds of the prairies. The animal life of the peninsula was too scanty to support its inhabitants. Deer and antelope, the big horn and ibex, were found in some numbers, and hares, jack rabbits and such small game were plenty but there was nothing like the abundance of wild animal life which existed on the Atlantic Coast or the western plains. Small as the numbers of the Californians were they seemed to have continual difficulty in finding food in their barren mountains. The roots and wild fruits just mentioned, with snakes, grasshoppers and other insects, were the staple of their wretched diet. July and August was the season of their highest enjoyment, because then the pitahayas, the cactus fruit alluded to, was ripe and every Indian could enjoy the luxury of a full stomach. When the Spanish sailors or missionaries offered the Californians presents, biscuits or meal porridge were the only gifts they valued. At all times, except during the pitahaya season, hunger seemed to be their normal condition. They tracked the flight of buzzards with greedy eyes, and followed them to share in the bodies of any dead animals that might have perished by accident or the jaws of the numerous pumas that infested the land. Even carrion was a treat of the highest value in their famished lives. Along the coasts some found support by fishing, and used nets of cactus fibre and pointed spears to secure their game, but the bulk of the population dwelt in the mountains and could not share in this pursuit.

Some of the habits induced by this condition of exist-

ence were startling in their wretchedness. Among the Cochimis, when animal food was found, it was the custom to attach the morsels to cords and after swallowing each, to draw it out again in a few minutes and pass the half-digested mass to others for a repetition of the process. The Europeans who first witnessed this operation expected that suffocation would follow but the gullets of the natives experienced no difficulty in the task set them. Other articles used as food can hardly be described in the language of civilized men. It is noteworthy that in all the misery of Californian primitive life cannibalism was unknown. In that they stood in favorable contrast to the more civilized inhabitants of the old Aztec Empire, who, at the siege of Mexico carried away the salted bodies of the slain for provisions.

In dress and dwellings the Californian natives were as much below other American tribes as in their diet. The men, through the peninsula, went entirely naked at all seasons. The women wore petticoats of reeds, tied together with threads worked from cactus stems and other plants. Some added cloaks of deer skin, and among some tribes the distribution of such skins was made at a general gathering of all the rancherias of a district. It is somewhat amusing to find that the furs of the sea otter, the most costly of any in European markets, were used by the Californian ladies in conjunction with grass skirts. The men, also, made a concession to the vanities of dress by the use of headgear of an elaborate kind in which pearls and bands of mother of pearl were intermixed with deer hoofs. The Cochimis elaborated a peculiar headdress from the nacre of sea shells sewn into bands and tied together with deer sinews. It is curious that the English Drake, in his Californian voyage, records that he was solemnly presented with the crown of California by an Indian chief as a token of submission to Elizabeth of England. The worthy corsair's general reputation for veracity was not such as to gain credit for this remarkable

statement in his native land, and the "crown of California" was classed with the Fountain of Youth, and other American myths until Jesuit missionaries reported its true origin in the Cochimi headdress. It gives a suggestive idea of the accuracy of travelers' tales when the ornaments of naked savages could be wrought into the emblem of civilized rule in the imagination of Drake and his companions.

GUAMAS, OR MEDICINE MEN OF LOWER CALIFORNIA
from Venegas

If the Californian dress requirements were small, their habitations were equally simple. In fine weather the mesquite bushes were sufficient shelter, and in the colder season, dugouts in the sand, or natural caves furnished all the shelter sought. Neither wigwam, teepee nor wickiup was known. Where bushes were scarce, each family built a circle of dry rocks a couple of feet high and five or six in diameter within which all the members slept in a sitting posture to economize room. These windbreaks were the only houses known originally to the natives. Around Cape St. Lucas the visits of the pearl fishers from Sinaloa had

introduced an advance in civilization before Otondo's time and rude shacks of branches were occasionally thrown up. They were unknown among the other tribes. The warm climate which made this outdoor existence possible, also caused fire to be little used. It was made when needed to parch the seeds and insects which formed a part of the Californian diet, or to roast the meat obtained by the chase or from buzzards, but for very little other purpose. Pottery, though common among the Mexican Indians, was unknown to the Californians beyond the Gulf. They formed baskets of palm fibre, closely twisted, for cooking vessels and to carry water. These, with nets to carry the wild fruits and game, a few bone awls and their rude weapons were the only possessions of a Californian Indian. When traveling the women carried the provisions, if there were any, and the men their weapons and nets, which, for convenient carriage, were hung by strings from holes bored in their ears. Hunting, fishing and basket weaving were works reserved for the men. Gathering fruit and roots, mending the baskets, at need, and parching seeds and other food, were the tasks of the squaws.

It is curious to note the resemblance, in many points, between the habits of the Australian blacks and the Californian Indians in spite of their difference of race and position on the earth's surface. The Californians belonged to the same ethnological stock as the Aztecs or Moquis. Social isolation, and the surroundings of a barren soil and warm climate were the agencies which made them so different from other American races. It would seem not unreasonable to suppose that similar influences produced similar effects on the scattered tribes of the great southern island. The accounts transmitted to us of the Californians in their primitive state, are, it must be remembered, seventy years earlier than Cook's visit to New Holland. The analogies between the conditions of the populations described in either country are the more striking

from being noted by observers so widely separated in time and space as the Jesuit pioneers of California and the English explorer. Even the boomerang of the Australians was found in California. Venegas describes a curved stick about a foot and a half long which was used by the Californians to kill hares with strange dexterity. Their hunting strategem of disguising themselves in the skins of deer was also like the Australian method of kangaroo hunting. It does not seem to have been used in other parts of the American continent.

In another point the Californians had a distinctive character among American tribes, but one shared by the Maori races of the Pacific Islands. Taboos or special prohibitions of various practices or articles of food were in force through all the Californian tribes. It was forbidden to a hunter to eat the flesh of a deer which he had killed himself though others might eat with safety. To kill a Californian lion was forbidden and the natives believed that such a deed would inevitably be followed by the death of the slayer. No Indian woman could look at her husband's mother under a similar penalty. The medicine men, or wizards, as the Spaniards called them, exercised a greater influence in California than elsewhere in America among the native races. They laid temporary or permanent taboos on individuals or rancherias at their pleasure as a similar class did in old Tahiti or Hawaii. In both cases the taboos were believed to be self-acting and their violation to carry its own punishment. In the South Sea islands they were also enforced by the power of the chiefs, but in California, where no tribal organization was known, the efficacy of the taboos rested wholly on public credulity. The medicine men claimed inspiration from spirits in making these rules as their fellows did in the Pacific islands, and they were generally believed, though otherwise no personal superiority was recognized in them over other Indians.

Government, indeed, of any kind was unknown in the

peninsula in its primitive state. The Jesuit missionaries divided its inhabitants into three nations according to language and these were subdivided into many clans on differences of dialects but neither clans nor nations had special chiefs or councils such as existed among the Sioux or Apaches. Three or four families usually formed a rancheria and lived together in proximity to some of the few water holes or springs scattered at long distances through the mountains. At the time of the pitahaya harvest or some other occasion, the Indians of several rancherias assembled for festivals which were generally celebrated by dances, and feasting on the cactus fruit.

On these occasions the medicine men took authority to a limited extent in directing the dances or selecting the meeting places. Wars, too, were common between different clans and in these the strongest warrior was allowed to arrange the time and place of attack but his influence extended no further and even that influence ended with the occasion. At other times each Indian head of a family did whatever pleased his own impulse. There were, indeed, certain limits acknowledged by public opinion to the territory of each tribe. For outsiders to hunt or gather berries there was held an offence against the occupants, and quarrels were not uncommon on such causes. The Californians with all their misery of life were ready at any time to engage in forays. Single rancherias would attack others on the most trivial complaints and sometimes several clans would unite for war on their neighbors of another language. Their wars had none of the savage energy, nor indeed of the cruelty which were marked features of Indian warfare in the English and French colonies. The Californian battles were mere party fights in which no object was looked for beyond the glory of victory. Scalping and mutilation, so common among other wild Indians, were unknown in the peninsula. When tribes engaged in war they fought without system or purpose and after a battle victors and vanquished wandered

back to their solitary abodes as before to pass their days in unheeding indolence and forget their past grievances as lightly as they had taken them up. Their violence was that of children rather than of men, "a fierce but fading fire."

Indeed their whole character was of a childlike kind, as well as their wars. Lounging under the bushes, sleeping or eating were the chief occupations of a rancheria, only varied by rare hunting or fishing expeditions, or by the dances of the fruit season. Though quick to read the impressions in the sands made by game or other Indians, they had none of the serious character which the forests of Canada and New York and the long fur hunting journeys by canoe and portage gave to the Hurons or Iroquois. The Californians paid small regard to the great natural features of earth or sky. They did not even count time by the moons, but divided the year, like the scientists of the French revolution, by the products of each season. The pitahaya fruit time from midsummer to September was the principal date in their reckoning. Five other seasons of variable length filled up the Indian year. An idea of the sluggish temper of the Californian minds is given by the curious fact that their names of number only went to four. Five they expressed as a full hand, ten by two hands and twenty by both hands and both feet. Beyond that they had neither names nor use for further reckoning. The imagery of language common among the Indians of the Atlantic Coast and not unknown to those of the western plains, was quite out of conception with the Californians. When the Spanish Jesuits tried to interest them in serious subjects the behavior of the warriors was like that of riotous children. In many places they took a special pleasure in giving ridiculous or filthy words of their language as the names of sacred objects. The grown men would interrupt a discourse of the missionaries by challenges to a wrestling match or foot race or else by pulling the hair of their companions or imitating the cries of

birds. A people of bearded children was the name appropriately given them by a Spanish observer after long experience.

Some odd instances of native intelligence were left on record by the early missionaries. A fishing boat from Sinaloa left some empty jars on the beach and the neighboring Indians adopted them as fetishes and carefully arranged them in a row with their mouths turned to the rising sun. An epidemic happening to break out sometime afterwards the jars were believed to have sent it. A council decided that their mouths should be stopped as the best remedy, but as no one ventured to face the formidable pots, a few warriors were directed to approach them backwards and stuff their mouths with clay without looking at them while open. At another time a tribe conspired to kill Father Peter Ugarte, who was alone among them. He produced a dilapidated musket without lock and threatened to kill them all with it if they attempted violence. The warriors ran off in such abject fright that it was some days before they could be tempted to venture back on his promise not to use the awful weapon.

There were glimmerings of the unseen world, however, in their thoughts when these thoughts could be reached by the missionaries among them. It was a long time before this could be done even when friendly intercourse had existed between the natives and their visitors. The medicine men, who were the chief depositories of the folk lore, were very jealous of communicating it to strangers. The older missionaries found that there were even schools for some boys who were trained in secret to copy on pieces of wood the mystic characters which formed the fetishes of the wizards. Gradually as some Indians grew attached to the beliefs of the strangers their original ideas were told. They differed somewhat among different tribes but agreed in believing in life beyond the grave and a Supreme Lord of the world. The Pericus of the south named him Niparaja, and described as without a body,

and yet the creator and master of the earth and sea. Niparaja had three sons, one Quayayp (Man) had lived on earth and taught their ancestors. Indians at last killed him and put a wreath of prickles on his head, but his body was believed to remain incorrupt in a secret place of the mountains. The Indians further believed that in the other world there was a population far exceeding that of earth and that in former days a mighty spirit, Tuparan, had rebelled against Niparaja and been defeated by him. Tuparan and his adherents had been confined in a cave under ground but they still continued to have some powers among men. A section of the medicine men claimed to have relations with Tuparan in their fetish ceremonies. A curious doctrine and very unlike that of most savage races was that Tuparan loved war because all slain in battle went, after death, to his cave.

The Cochimis had somewhat different beliefs. Their name for God was "The Living One," and they held that though a spirit, he had a son named either "The Swift One." or "Perfection of Clay." They had not the Pericu tradition of his descent on earth, but they also said there was another divine being "The Maker of Lords." The resemblance of these Indian beliefs to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity was too remarkable to escape the criticism of the Jesuit missionaries. Father Venegas contents himself with stating them as gathered from the Indian converts without attempting to explain their origin among them. He suggests that Christians might have been cast away among the Californians at some distant time and that traditions received from them might have tinctured the Indian beliefs. The difficulties in the way of this explanation, owing to the different language of the natives, he recognized and so gave no opinion of his own on the matter.

Whatever the origin of the Californian mythology it had no practical influence on the conduct of the natives' lives. No form of worship was found among them and

idols, too, were unknown. That some acts were good and others evil in themselves even the most ignorant felt and acknowledged, but to form their own conduct on laws of conscience was never thought of. The mystic powers claimed by the Guamas were only practiced for personal profit to cure diseases or injure enemies. At the dances where they presided, they pretended to communicate with the spirit world personally, but no rites of worship either to evil spirits or good were used. There were forms for marriage and strange ceremonies around the dying, but no religious character attached to either. The Guamas claimed a skill in medicine as well as in witchcraft, and their functions partook of the same double character. The chief medical appliance was the chabuaco or stone pipe with which they blew away or sucked out supposed disease germs from the parts affected. Wild tobacco was used in these inhalations and the heated pipe was made to act as a cautery sometimes with strangely efficient results. When dead the Californian warrior was buried or burned without delay as soon as the Guamas pronounced life extinct. Father Salvatierra on one such occasion found the Indians preparing to burn the body of a comrade in which life still remained. He stopped the funeral and nursed the patient back to life and health. The weapons and other belongings of the dead were buried or burned with their former owners without any further ceremony.

A race thus without law or rulers followed the common habits of savage life. Impulse was their only guide when stirred to action. They do not seem to have been especially cruel or vindictive, and quarrels were rare in their families, but small provocations or mere whim made them kill men as easily as beasts of the chase. They seemed in their native state to feel neither gratitude nor revenge strongly. The early Jesuits took a benevolent view of their future converts and made out their description in as favorable colors as truth

would warrant. "The Cochimis," says Father Venegas, "are remarkably courteous, and they never break their word. They are also of a better disposition and clearer intelligence than the southern tribes. In the Californian are seen few of the bad qualities which disgrace other American Indians. No intoxicating liquors are used among them, it is only on their feasts that they stupify themselves with the smoke of their wild tobacco. What little each one owns is safe from theft, quarrels are rare and the members of a rancheria live in harmony among themselves. All their malice is reserved for their enemies of other clans. They are little inclined to obstinacy, harshness or cruelty, but are gentle and easily led either to good or evil."

He goes on to fill in the picture less pleasingly. Their will was weak and their passions moved within narrow limits. "Ambition they have none, they aspire to be thought strong rather than brave. Honor, fame, titles, posts of eminence are unknown to them. The most that is observed is some feeling of emulation. It rouses them to see their fellows praised or rewarded, in fact, this is the only motive which can make them shake off their ingrained laziness. They are equally free from avarice, that passion which causes so much ruin in civilized nations. Their only anxiety is to get food for the day without much labor. They never think of the morrow. Their hates and vengeance are stirred up by any trifle, but they are as easily appeased even without satisfaction offered. They are like children in whom reason is not fully developed. Their great passion is a fondness for games, feasts and dances in which they spend their wretched days."

With all the Jesuit writer's desire to set forth the favorable points in the native character they are mostly negative ones. To the sailors and officers of the Spanish ships the Californians appeared nearly the lowest of human beings. The semi-civilized Indians from Sinaloa looked down on the naked and half starving Californians as the

English Puritans did on the "wrecks of humanity" who occupied the soil of Massachusetts. The Europeans of Otondo's expedition were astonished at a condition lower than any they had dreamed of and the general disgust was a powerful factor in making that officer abandon his Californian settlement. When a council was held to deliberate on that question every officer's voice was in favor of abandonment. The only opponents were the three Jesuit priests, Kino, Copart and Goni. They even asked to remain alone in the land but that Otondo could not permit, and they had to return to Mexico with him. The superior promised the Indians who had attended his lessons to either return or send priests to complete their instruction and make them Christians. His promise was kept after many years.

CHAPTER V

Eusebius Kuehn

The settlement of California was finally effected mainly through the untiring zeal of Father Kino. It effected the task where Cortez and two Spanish kings had failed. The Jesuit pioneer was, indeed, a man of no common mould. His name as an explorer is as closely connected with the Colorado as that of Marquette with the Mississippi, and his success as a missionary and teacher among savages has scarcely a parallel on the North American continent. Father Kino had but newly arrived on American soil when he was sent by his superiors with Otondo's expedition. His appointment was largely due to his skill in mathematics, of which he had been professor in a European university, before taking up the career of missionary to savages. The orders of the Spanish court required that a competent surveyor and map maker should be sent with Otondo to make charts of the Gulf. Kino's training fitted him better for such work than any one else available in Mexico at the time. He held the double post of missionary superior and royal cosmographer in Otondo's colony. It is a curious instance of the indifference of the Spanish authorities to international prejudices that such functions should have been readily conferred on a foreigner lately arrived in Mexico and not by birth or naturalization a Spanish subject.

The royal cosmographer was, in fact, a native of the German Tyrol in the Austrian dominions. Kino is a Spanish modification of his real name, Kuehn, according to a custom prevalent in the American colonies, which sometimes makes it hard to decide the nationality of prominent men in the olden time. Another distinguished German Jesuit, Siedlmeyer, has his name softened in the

Spanish records into Sotomayor. Kuehn entered the Jesuit order at an early age in the German province and after ordination had been employed as professor of mathematics in the Bavarian University of Ingoldstadt. His appointment was made at the request of the ruling Elector of Bavaria who had a high admiration for Kuehn's scientific pursuits. After some years of university life, however, the latter developed a desire for employment of another kind and in a serious illness he made a vow to devote his life to the propagation of the faith among the savages. He recovered and asked his superiors for a transfer to the Mexican province of the Order, which was granted him when about forty years of age. He found his first experience of savage life in its reality in the Californian peninsula. Repulsive as were the traits of the naked Californians, the only effect they produced on the cultivated ex-professor, was a passion to devote himself to their regeneration to the rank of Christians and civilized men.

On his return to Mexico with Otondo his first step was to petition his provincial for permission to return to complete the task of conversion already begun. The superior did not grant his request. There were many other Indian missions in charge of the Jesuits of Mexico and the condition of the northern ones was very critical at the time. Only a few years earlier an Indian outbreak had ruined most of the settlements in New Mexico after more than a hundred years of peace. The Apaches were ravaging the missions and colonists of Sonora as fiercely as the Iroquois raided the early French settlements in Canada at nearly the same time. There was urgent call for help and especially for missionary priests capable of winning the confidence of the various tribes converted or heathen. The heads of the order decided that it would be beyond their power to attempt so difficult a task as a mission in California. They assigned Father Kuehn, instead, to the perilous missions of Sonora and Pimeria.

He obeyed without hesitation or murmur and threw his energies into the work laid on him with unflagging ardor. The Sonora tribes were a very different race from the stolid Californians and other methods were needed for missionary work there. Between the industrious and friendly Yaquis, the half converted Pimas, the wild Seris, the restless Tarahumaras of the Sierra Nevada, and the fierce Apaches, there was toil enough to satisfy the most strenuous zeal of an Indian missionary. Kuehn worked with a vigor and success before unknown. He explored the sand deserts and mountain ranges from the Yaqui River to the Colorado, mapped out the shores and trails of a new country larger than any state east of the Mississippi and pushed his way among tribes before unvisited by white men. The languages of the Pima and Seri tribes were learned, vocabularies of them compiled, and grammars formed for the use of other teachers. He preached, converted and organized his converts into villages among a dozen of tribes. In after days men told how he, who had only admitted thirteen Californians to baptism during fifteen months of patient teaching, had enrolled no less than forty-eight thousand Indians of Sonora as Christians. The influence of Kino grew supreme over the fiercest warriors. Even the dreaded Apaches asked his teaching and promised to receive him in their rancherias. Still all through this life of endless toil he found time to urge on his brethren the duty of raising the stolid Californians to Christian life. The higher intelligence of the Indians of Sonora, among whom his lot was cast, and even his wonderful success in winning them to Catholic belief, could not blot out the recollection of the naked Cochimis and Monquis in their barren native land.

Though it was never granted Father Kuehn to revisit the peninsula, the renewal of the mission there was directly due to his influence. On his arrival in Sonora he made the acquaintance of the visitor of the missions there, Father Gianmaria Salvatierra, and succeeded in inspiring him

with his own enthusiasm for the conversion of California. The two men though of different races were thoroughly akin in spirit and character. Salvatierra was born in Milan four years later than his colleague. He had joined the Jesuits in Lombardy, and like Kuehn, had experience of university life before devoting himself to the conversion of savages as his life work. He had come to Mexico some years before Otondo's expedition and had been ten years among the Yaquis and Tarahumaras of Sonora when he and Kuehn first met. He had been recalled from his mission to the capital as Kuehn had been recalled against his own will from California. Salvatierra undertook to obtain the foundation of the settlement in the peninsula which had been refused his colleague. The two planned the establishment of a greater Paraguay on the North American continent. The existing missions of Sonora and the proposed settlements in California were to be continued and pushed north on both sides of the Gulf till they met at its head. Beyond that they planned to continue the work of converting and civilizing the tribes of the yet unexplored northern lands as far as the ships of Cabrillo and Vizcaino had reached by sea. The land was too remote for colonization on commercial or political motives but to the minds of Kuehn and Salvatierra it only offered on that account a better field for purely disinterested missionary toil.

When Salvatierra returned to the capital he communicated his projects to the heads of the order and urged the importance in a spiritual sense of the work. He urged it, likewise, on the Spanish authorities and the benevolent Catholics of the capital. He found little sympathy at first. The Mexican officials hated the name of California since the costly and fruitless expedition of Otondo. The Jesuit superiors thought the task beyond their own power. Salvatierra persevered in his advocacy for fully ten years. A new General of the Jesuits was then elected in the person of Father Tirso Gonzales. Salvatierra sent his proj-

ect to him at Rome and unexpectedly to all the General approved it. He directed the Mexican provincial to relieve Salvatierra of all other duties and allow him to give himself wholly to the work of founding a mission in California. Father Gonzales had been a veteran in mission work and was, besides, of Spanish birth and familiar with the conditions and needs of Mexico. His approbation of Salvatierra's project carried great weight but the council of the Viceroy and the audiences or supreme courts were still opposed strongly to any attempt at a settlement in California. At the time of Otondo's expedition it had been found that the maintenance of the smallest practical military post there would cost the treasury thirty thousand dollars annually. The Mexican officials feared that a mission would involve eventually another military post with its drain on a not over-filled colonial treasury.

Salvatierra had a long struggle and much personal work to overcome the prejudices of the high officials and obtain the Viceroy's license to found a mission even at his own cost. As a religious, he had of course, no funds of his own, but he succeeded in raising a large amount from individual charity. A confraternity attached to one of the churches of the capital promised a yearly contribution of five hundred dollars, a priest of Queretaro, who had a large private fortune, promised twice that sum. Several thousand dollars were given by other parties and the treasurer of Acapulco gave a schooner and loaned a larger ship to carry the mission to the peninsula. With the authority of the General of the order Salvatierra formed these donations into a permanent fund for the support of future as well as the first missionaries to the natives of California. It was to be administered by members of the Jesuit order named for that purpose by the provincial, but was ever to be kept distinct from all funds directly belonging to its colleges or other establishments. The name given to this fund, which afterwards grew to considerable

proportions, was the "Fondo Piadoso," or "Pious Fund of California."

Salvatierra claimed that a yearly sum of five hundred dollars would provide all needed for the maintenance of a missionary in California. He would, himself, begin the first on that revenue and he was willing that others should only be begun as the "Pious Fund" could secure that amount for each new foundation. The treasury officials of Mexico thought the amount quite too small with their experience of Otondo's colony, but the Supreme Court of Guadalajara unexpectedly took Salvatierra's side and urged the importance of his project on the Viceroy. That personage, the Conde de Montezuma, was, himself, of part Indian descent and friendly to missions among the natives. After long discussions with his council he finally granted Salvatierra permission to begin his mission by an official document or license. The council insisted that no cost should be defrayed from the public funds and that a sufficient guard should be provided for the lives of the priests who undertook the mission. The royal license to "reduce and settle" the peninsula was granted to the Jesuit body in terms little different from those given to lay adventurers when founding new settlements in distant provinces of Mexico. The guards paid by Salvatierra were given the rank of soldiers in the army and their commander made royal judge and executive officer over all Spanish subjects in the peninsula as well as the natives. The license was issued in 1696, ten years after the return of Otondo.

Father Salvatierra lost no time in beginning his work. Early the following year he left Mexico for Sonora there to find Kuehn, who had been named as his colleague in the first mission. The galiot loaned by the treasurer of Acapulco sailed in February from Acapulco with supplies for the foundation and orders to call at the Yaqui River in Sonora for the two priests. Salvatierra made the journey to Sonora only to find it threatened with an Indian

war. He went himself among the hostile tribes and succeeded in restoring peace but the governor was so afraid of a general outbreak that he refused to let Father Kuehn leave Sonora. His presence there was said to be worth a garrison of a thousand soldiers for maintaining peace. Another old missionary, the Sicilian Father Piccolo, was substituted for Kuehn in California. Salvatierra could not wait and when the galiot reached the Yaqui he started alone for California.

The galiot had taken six months on its voyage from Acapulco to the Yaqui. Many of the stores on board had spoiled and Salvatierra had to replace them as best he could from the resources of the Sonora mission. He had also to go without the soldiers who had been promised him as a guard as they could not be spared at the time from the Sonora posts. With such resources as he had he sailed from Yaqui in October and three days later, after a storm, in which the galiot was nearly wrecked and the smaller vessel driven out of sight, he landed at last on the desired coast of California.

The selection of a site for the colony was left to the ship captain who had some acquaintance with the navigation of the Gulf. A little bay of half moon shape opposite the large island of Carmen was his choice. It offered good anchorage and several springs of fresh water and there was some growth of mesquite bushes and coarse grass which showed like an oasis in the general barrenness of the coasts. Otondo's old settlement had been twenty miles south of this bay to which as well as the mission settlement Father Salvatierra gave the name of Loretto. He had long before put his project under the special protection of our Lady of Loretto, and promised to name the first establishment in her honor. Beyond the scanty grass which might feed the few sheep and goats brought from Sonora, the ground around Loretto was as barren as elsewhere. A small garden for vegetables and fruit trees was all the arable land that it offered. However no more could

be found anywhere else on the coasts as far as known and the location being central, Salvatierra decided to locate his colony there.

There is a certain fascination about the beginnings of civilized life in unknown lands which gives interest of its own to otherwise prosaic details of daily life. Salvatierra's colony from which Christianity and civilization was to be spread as far as Monterey and Oregon was indeed a modest beginning. He had five men and an ensign as a military force, besides three Mexican Indians of different tribes. The composition of this little body was cosmopolitan, if not particularly military. The ensign in command was the only Spaniard among them by birth. A Portuguese farm steward, Lorenzo, two sailors from the Philippine galleons, one a Maltese, the other a Sicilian, a Mexican creole from Guadalajara and a Peruvian mulatto made up the roster. One of the Indians was also from Guadalajara, the others from missions in Sonora and Sinaloa. The Maltese sailor had been a gunner on a Philippine galleon. He was put in charge of a diminutive piece of artillery which formed the whole equipment of the fort and was also intended to fire salutes on festival days. The three Indians were not regularly enlisted. Their business was to look after the live stock and make themselves generally useful. However, in the limited state of the garrison they were called to do duty with the rest as soldiers. Father Salvatierra, as a priest, would not handle arms but he took his share in the night watches as well as in packing the baggage on shore.

A couple of score of natives gathered from their rancherias to see the newcomers. A few came up from San Bruno and claimed old acquaintance with Father Kuehn. One who was afflicted with cancer asked to be baptized and as he showed some knowledge of Catholic beliefs, he was invited to stay in the camp for further instruction. For some days all hands, including the superior, were busied in building a rough stone wall around the camp and carry-

ing the provisions and baggage ashore. A large tent, given by a friend in Mexico, was set up as a temporary chapel where Father Salvatierra said mass. The Californians looked on stolidly and made no demonstration either of hostility or friendship. When the fort walls were finished the vessel was sent back to the Yaqui to bring over Father Piccolo and more supplies. Salvatierra at once began the work of learning the language of the new land and getting familiar with its inhabitants while the soldier colonists built huts, cleared the springs and attended to the other work of a new settlement.

The method adopted for dealing with the Indians was simple. Each day Salvatierra invited his visitors to a talk and tried to teach them the meaning of some Spanish words addressing them in their own language as far as he had learned it from the old catechism of Copart. He listened attentively to their comments on his attempts and noted down with pen and paper each new word or expression. The Californians showed a childish delight in the novel practice, very unlike the gravity of most Indian tribes. They took a mischievous pleasure in mocking the pronounciation of the white man but he stood their insolence with unruffled temper, and quietly applied to the young children to learn the nature of his slips in savage speech. After a couple of hours of conference the meeting each day was ended by a meal of boiled corn meal which to the hungry Indians was a rich banquet. The hospitality, however, was poorly repaid. Scarcely had the vessel left before the natives grew violent and tried to steal provisions and kill the hogs and sheep. Salvatierra kept patience and went on with the daily conferences in spite of the growing hostility of his visitors. He paid special attention to the cancer patient, whose end was evidently at hand, and, after explaining Catholic doctrine to him as far as possible, he baptized him as the first Californian neophyte. The others paid no attention to this ceremony. They stole the only horse of the colony one

night and killed it for food. A couple of soldiers followed the thieves six or seven miles and chased them away from their booty which was given to the Indians that had not been concerned in the raid.

About two weeks after the departure of the galiot a body of four or five hundred natives came in war paint with bows and lances to attack the fort. They came on yelling and discharging arrows at all sides of the inclosure. Father Salvatierra went out to warn them of the danger of the matchlocks and coax them to peace but the only answer he received was a volley of flint-headed arrows. The Maltese gunner then discharged the little cannon but it burst at the first shot and the savages grew bolder and tried to rush the camp. The soldiers and Indians opened fire with their matchlocks and killed and wounded some of the assailants. The fall of these scared the attacking force. They scampered off to the bushes and hills leaving one badly wounded man to be picked up and nursed by the garrison. The next day the squaws came with their children to explain away the conduct of the warriors and ask forgiveness and more porridge. Both were readily granted by the kindly Jesuit, and the original relations were resumed as if nothing had occurred. The wounded Indian being past recovery and showing anxiety to become a Christian, Salvatierra instructed and baptized him as he had done the first convert. Both died in a brief time.

The missing vessel which had been separated from the galiot on the first voyage came in the day after the battle and brought a few men, as well as provisions. The galiot soon after brought over Father Piccolo and the number of the Christian settlers was raised to twenty-two. She was then sent back to her owner and the colony had to depend for provisions on the mission schooner alone.

Another attack by the natives followed. Some of the medicine men, who showed special dislike to the newcomers, broke up the boat of the schooner and attacked a party

sent to prevent its destruction. Some of the natives were killed and the others dispersed and sent, as before, the women and children to make excuse for their action. A curious incident followed. The relatives of the slain warriors laid the blame of the attack on one of the rancherias which had been prominent in instigating it. They proposed to kill its members in a body as an offering to the dead. The culprits came to Salvatierra and begged to be let stay by the wall of the post. He readily consented in spite of their former treachery and after a while he made their peace with the other Indians. The conduct of the Jesuit founder is in strange contrast with that of the Dutch Governor of New York, Kieft, on a similar occasion in the same century (1643). An Algonquin tribe of Manhattan then took refuge under the walls of New Amsterdam for protection against an inroad of the Mohawks. Kieft used the opportunity to massacre the fugitives in a night attack without distinction of age or sex.

After this there was no further armed attack at Loretto, though some medicine men continued to give trouble and kill cattle. Famine, however, nearly came in the next summer. The schooner was unable to cross the Gulf for some months, on account of storms, and the provisions of the twenty-two settlers were reduced to three sacks of wheat and as many of damaged corn, before she appeared at Loretto. Two years later a like condition occurred, and Salvatierra had to discharge eighteen of his men. He even proposed to let all the guards and workmen go and remain with Father Piccolo in California unprotected. In the first year of the seventeenth century there was another period of scarcity. The colonists, who had increased to sixty, including Indian laborers from Sonora, had for several months little food but wild berries and roots. The pay of the soldiers was also largely in arrears, as no funds were available, even in Mexico. The fathers called a meeting in this emergency and put it to the vote whether the settlement should be abandoned for the time. If such

was the will of the majority, Salvatierra offered them the Mission vessel to carry them to Sinaloa and orders for their pay, to be collected there. It speaks much for the spirit which he had inspired into the mixed body of Indians and soldiers that the sixty unanimously voted to stay at any risk. The arrival of a vessel from Acapulco with supplies sometime afterwards relieved the pressure, but privation continued the normal state of the little colony for many years.

The good disposition of the soldiers may have been partly due to the care with which they had been picked for enlistment. It was common in the military service of New Spain, as in Mexico today, to recruit from the jails. The Jesuits were offered a contingent of that kind by the Fiscal of the capital, but they emphatically declined the proposition. Their men were all volunteers and received the pay of soldiers on the frontiers, which was quite large for the time. Salvatierra had more trouble from the officers than from the soldiers or Indians. As has been said, there was no regular army organization in New Spain, and soldiers, when needed, were enlisted for a post much as sailors are for a merchant vessel. Commissioned officers, however, were appointed by the Viceroy and their titles and privileges gave them social importance. In proportion to the number of soldiers, officers were nearly as plenty as in our own western militia. Though Salvatierra could only bring five soldiers to California, there was an ensign to command them and a captain was added when the enlisted men reached eighteen. There was a peculiarity in Spanish-American military ranks which is noticeable. Captains and ensigns were abundant, and there was a fair supply of generals and admirals, but colonels, majors and all the other grades so familiar to modern American ears were wholly absent. There does not appear to have been a regiment or battalion in the whole of the Spanish-American dominions. When the Jesuit Superiors were organizing their first police force they

thought best to obtain a military officer as its commander. Ensign Tortolero, the first chosen, gave general satisfaction, but had to resign in a year through ill-health. Another alferez, Garcia, was recommended from Sonora as his successor, and Salvatierra made him Captain, under the powers of the Royal License. The new Captain had unfortunately ideas of both military authority and the best method of dealing with natives rather inconsistent with missionary work. He objected to the employment of the soldiers on road-making and building, and desired instead to let them occupy themselves in the more profitable task of pearl fisheries. He further attempted to make the natives share in the same work, and urged on the Jesuits that such was the best way to give them habits of industry. Salvatierra utterly forbade any interference with the liberties of the natives, and Garcia wrote angry letters to his friends and the military authorities in Mexico denouncing all clerical interference in the management of soldiers, and even urging that the two Jesuit priests should be recalled from California. Garcia's letters made some sensation, especially among the military officers in Mexico, who had slight regard for native rights. However, after a time he grew weary of life in California and resigned.

Another ensign Figueroa, was named to succeed him, but in a few months his behavior when sent after a marauding band was such that he was charged by his own men with cowardice. With such a feeling, even Father Salvatierra had no sympathy. He discharged Figueroa and left the choice of a commander to ballot among the soldiers themselves. They unanimously elected the Portuguese Lorenzo as Captain and the Maltese gunner as Lieutenant. Father Salvatierra accepted the election and commissioned both as officers in the King's name. Lorenzo continued as Governor for forty-six years and Clavigero, the historian, credits the success of the missions largely to his faithful discharge of his duties and personal courage and honesty. He married shortly after his election,

and on his resignation his son, born in California, was named as his successor. There was no further clashing between the missionaries and soldiers in California during the first half of the eighteenth century.

The routine of life at Loretto during the first eighteen months was uniform. As many natives as were willing came daily for instruction in Christian doctrine. Father Piccolo taught the children separately within the walls of the camp, while Salvatierra addressed the grown people on the field outside. A meal of boiled corn was distributed to all after close of the instruction. Mass was said in public and the natives were allowed to assist as spectators, provided they kept order. The influence of the missionaries grew gradually over the childish savages by this daily intercourse, especially as the former grew familiar with their tongue. They began to take interest in the new doctrines, and some asked for baptism. This was not easily accorded, except to the dying. Easter and Christmas were the times at which the most docile and intelligent were admitted to the sacrament. No tasks were required in return for the food portions, but if the natives offered help in the occupations of the mission; their services were accepted and recompensed. The ways of civilization were taught them slowly but continuously, as infants learn the use of their faculties. There were plenty of disappointments for Salvatierra and Piccolo. When June came, with its harvest of cactus berries, the audiences suddenly dwindled. For a couple of months scarcely any Indians appeared near the fort, as they were all scattered to pick berries and hold their dances. When the teachers went to hunt them up in the rancherias they received no attention and they had to abide the end of the berry season before the savages would give thought to any higher ideas. The work was then resumed, and at length some developed earnestness and intelligence enough to warrant their reception as Christians.

By the close of the first year after the settlement nearly

all the natives within reach of Loretto were at least under teaching. Salvatierra now began his other task, the exploration of the interior. His object was something more than geographical, as his aim was specially to find localities with capacity to support at least a fair sized community by agriculture. He found two such within twenty-five miles of Loretto. One had a fair water supply and a large patch of land that promised crops if irrigated. Salvatierra, with the help of his men, built a small cottage and chapel there of brush and formed a road to it from Loretto. The new station received the name of St. Francis Xavier and Father Piccolo moved to it and began a routine of work like that of Loretto among the surrounding Indians. Salvatierra remained alone at Loretto. The conditions of California were such that its missionaries had to accept lives of almost complete isolation if they hoped to effect the conversion of its natives.

In the meantime Kuehn had begun the exploration of Arizona with a view to finding a practical land communication between Sonora and California. He crossed the Gila, made the acquaintance of many new tribes and established relations with them in the course of 1698, while Salvatierra was building up his settlement of Loretto. Two years later he set out on a longer exploration to settle the question whether Lower California was really a peninsula or an island. Ulloa had reached the head of the Gulf of California and discovered the mouth of the Colorado in 1540, but it since had been unvisited by white men and reports were current of mythical voyages around California, and even across the North American continent, from Monterey to the St. Lawrence, through an equally fabulous "channel of Anian." To settle this point was most important for the future of missions in California, and Kuehn set out to solve it with no companions but a few Pima Indians. Starting from his Mission of Dolores, he took his way northeast, through mountains infested by the hostile Apaches, to the Gila. He met

a tribe, at some distance, of three hundred members who showed a desire to become Christians. Father Kuehn stayed to teach them, and he spent some days in bringing them to join the nearest mission. Entirely new tribes gave him a friendly reception as he toiled on. The Gila was crossed and the brawny tribe of Yumas conciliated and Kuehn set his face westward towards the Ocean. He reached the junction of the Gila and Colorado, and there fifteen hundred savages gathered to meet the strangers. They told him the sea was very far off, but asked him to come across the Colorado and dwell with themselves. Father Kuehn surveyed the land between the rivers and destined it as a future mission site, but sickness broke out among his Pimas and he would not risk their lives by a stay at the time. He climbed, however, the highest mountain in the neighborhood, and by the aid of his telescope traced for the first time the course of the great wide river from the Gila junction to the Gulf of California. He also noted and mapped the trend of the California mountains and their junction with those of the mainland east of the Gulf. This done he turned back with his sick converts to Dolores, from which he sent the account of his journey and his maps to the Spanish authorities.

Almost immediately after his return from this journey of over twelve hundred miles he received a message from Salvatierra, who had come to Sonora to seek help for his Californian Mission, in dire necessity. Two schooners had been lost in storms, provisions were nearly exhausted in Loretto, and Salvatierra had let all his men go except twelve. In spite of this disheartening state of affairs Salvatierra, on hearing the story of Kuehn's exploration, proposed that they should at once start together for further examination of the head of the Gulf. The friends met at the Indian village of Caborca and tried to reach the Colorado by way of the shore. The Indians had asserted that there was a practicable trail in that direction, but after three weeks' weary march the two Jesuits found

progress barred by a stretch of waterless sands of unknown extent which their horses could not cross. They turned back to the Mission of San Marcello and there heard of another trail to the Colorado on which they again started northward. They reached a point inland on the latitude of San Diego, where both were able to verify Kuehn's first experience and trace the junction of the mountains of California with those of Sonora. Their supplies, however, gave out and they had to return to Dolores.

Salvatierra had to go back to California, as a matter of necessity, but the tireless Kuehn started for the third time in the same year for the Colorado. He hoped to push as far north as the Monterey of Viscaino's expedition, and his friend urged him to return by way of Loretto. Father Kuehn's progress was baffled by the flooded state of the river when he reached it again. It was some hundred yards wide and running with a current which made it impossible to get the pack animals and horses across. Father Kuehn crossed it himself on a log raft and gave some instruction to the Indians beyond, but he had to give up the idea of reaching Monterey.

He tried again the next year in company with a Spanish priest, Father Gonzales. The latter sickened and Kuehn gave up his journey for the sake of bringing his friend back to the nearest mission, where he died. Trouble with the Apaches and the care of his own converts did not permit him to renew his daring explorations after that period.

CHAPTER VI

Gianmaria Salvatierra

Endowments had been given for three missions before the royal license was granted to attempt the conversion of California. Three Jesuits had been assigned to the work by order of the General, but only two were able to reach California during the first three years. The first missioners selected were Fathers Salvatierra, Kuehn and Juan Ugarte, but the second was detained in Sonora by the Governor, and the third had to remain in Mexico to manage the Pious Fund and send needed help to the pioneers in their distant abode. Father Piccolo was sent from Sonora in place of Kuehn. Ugarte had joined Salvatierra's work at nearly its beginning. He was as remarkable in character as either of his colleagues, and it was largely through his energy and popularity that the first burses for the Pious Fund were obtained and the Viceroy's consent won for the mission. The family of Ugarte were wealthy creole planters in Honduras and ranked among the aristocracy of the Viceregal Court. Father Juan and his brother had become Jesuits in Mexico at an early age. Juan was about ten years younger than Salvatierra, and his occupations had been entirely in the colleges of the Capital until, like Kuehn and his friend, he decided to devote himself wholly to mission work.

Fathers Salvatierra and Piccolo toiled in solitary patience during the first three years. They built two visiting stations in that time outside Loretto and in the mountains. A chapel and cottage of sun-dried brick were all the buildings at each, and every month one or the other priest came to spend a few days teaching the natives. The workmen also made passable roads to each from Loretto, but that was all. The medicine men or guamas

were usually ill-disposed towards the new doctrines, and often threatened to kill the priests on their visits. They wrecked the first chapel and house at San Xavier shortly after its erection. Father Piccolo rebuilt both with calm indifference, and continued his visits. Loretto, by the third year of its existence, might be compared to a Mexican village of the poorer class. It had the storehouse for supplies and the barrack for the enlisted men, as well as the cabins of the Mexican workmen. All were built of adobe, with roofs of reed thatch. Some cattle and sheep, brought from Sonora, found pasturage near the harbor, but there was no cultivated ground. At Vigge there was some land that would yield crops if irrigated, but the number of priests did not allow one to devote himself to such work at the time.

In the latter part of 1700, while Salvatierra was absent with Kuehn, Father Juan Ugarte unexpectedly landed at Loretto. He had obtained a substitute as procurator in Mexico and set out to take a personal share in the hardships of mission work. There was no means of communicating with the priests there within less than a year, and no vessel to sail from any Mexican port. Ugarte traveled overland a thousand miles to Sinaloa in the hope of finding the mission schooner somewhere there. It was not known where it was when he arrived. He found an abandoned fishing boat on the shore, patched it up and caulked it as best he could, and in it made the dangerous voyage up the Gulf to Loretto.

Salvatierra returned from Sonora in the mission schooner within a week of his coming. It consoled him for the absence of his friend Kuehn, and indeed Ugarte was himself as striking a personality as the latter. His fearlessness and energy were like those of the old Spanish adventurers who conquered Mexico and Peru in the sixteenth century, but joined with the kindly temper and courteous manners of the high-class Spanish creoles of a later time. He had herculean strength and a capacity for

turning to any task, intellectual or mechanical. In the City of Mexico he had been noted among his brethren for devotion to study as well as for personal austerity and singularly winning manners. It was largely through the latter that the first endowments for California had been raised and the consent of the Viceroy Montezuma won to the enterprise. He had continued to provide for the missions during the four years after Salvatierra's departure, and he now came to spend his life in the Californian wilds as a toiler among its pioneers.

Salvatierra at once designed him to make the station of San Xavier an agricultural settlement capable of supporting the mission colony without outside help. As soon as Ugarte was familiar with the native language, which for him was only a task of a few months, he was sent with due solemnity to begin the first mission in the chain which Salvatierra and Kuehn hoped to extend to Monterey from Loretto.

Some soldiers and workmen were sent with him to begin the work of cultivation and guard against attacks from the savages. Those around Vigge were more intelligent than the Loretto tribes, but had occasionally shown dislike for the visits of the other priests, and the medicine men there were especially hostile to the new doctrines. They had once destroyed the mission chapel in Father Piccolo's absence, and they still showed surliness, though no attempt had been made to punish the outrage. The arrival of Ugarte and his party caused a sudden panic among the rancherias. The natives thought the Spaniards had come to avenge the destruction of the former buildings and they retreated to the heart of the mountains to escape them. For some days not an Indian appeared near the station. Father Ugarte divined the reason and promptly took a course to meet it in accordance with his character. He sent his whole party back to Loretto and stayed alone in the cottage built by Piccolo.

The evening of the day after the departure of the sol-

diers an Indian boy came peering around the church. Father Ugarte welcomed him, gave him biscuits and sugar and told him to bring his friends to see him without fear, as no harm was meant them and the soldiers were gone. They came in some numbers the next day and squatted on the ground to listen to the solitary stranger. He treated them as he had the first messenger, and after peering cautiously into everything around the house and church, they went away without conversation. Others came the next day and began to ask why the stranger had come and how long he would stay there. Ugarte tried to explain his object and to give them some notion of Christian doctrine. In the course of some days the savages gained confidence and began to chat freely with the priest. They mocked his attempts to speak their tongue, but otherwise made no hostile demonstrations. The teacher was patient and quietly corrected his mistakes, with the help of the children, until he was able to address his naked audience without provoking their criticism. He then began a regular daily course of teaching, attendance at which was encouraged by distribution of boiled corn at its close. The same served as his own only diet.

His lessons were not confined to religious instruction alone. After some days he took up pick and hoe and told his audience he would show them how to make the earth produce the food they so much approved. He began to dig an irrigation ditch from the largest spring and invited the men to join in the task with the tools he offered. The boys took up the work as a new game and some of the elders were attracted to imitate them. They worked awhile, but soon grew tired and threw the tools away, but still some progress was made and nothing tired the patience of the instructor. He gradually introduced daily system into his teaching and work, and drew a certain number to share in the latter by extra distributions of food.

As soon as the daily gathering of natives was established Father Ugarte divided his own occupations by rule.

In the morning he celebrated mass each day at an early hour, and such as wished were let enter the church during the services. The priest had not even an altar boy to serve him, but he insisted on quiet among the congregation and detailed some of themselves to keep order. When mass was over, prayers followed and a short lecture on Christian faith. The priest then laid aside his soutane and cooked a large pot of corn or porridge which he shared among the congregation and marched all who were willing to the fields. He milked the goats, cleared away brush and rocks, chopped firewood, dug, planted and harrowed by turns at the head of a band of naked Indians who amused themselves in imitating his works, for a few hours each day. None would do anything unless the teacher himself kept at work with them. Others sat around on the ground and mocked the tasks of the laborers and their instructor. Ugarte gave the ill disposed a few lessons, which ended insults. One day at the instruction after mass a powerful savage interrupted with hooting and yells of childish laughter. The preacher took him by the hair and swung him back and forth at arms length half a dozen times. When he dropped the offender the audience made a hasty retreat, and it needed much coaxing on the part of Father Ugarte to gather them again. Another day some warriors who were famous as wrestlers came to challenge him to a contest. He took the arm of the strongest between his fingers and pinched it until the champion howled for pain. "I don't wrestle with men who cry like babies," was the comment of the athletic Jesuit. His personal strength gave him unbounded ascendancy, as no other quality was so highly valued by the Californians. For half a century the tales of Ugarte's feats of strength in California rivaled those which the soldiers of France repeated of the famous Marshal Saxe.

When the day's work was done Father Ugarte brought the workers back to the church, recited the rosary with them and afterward cooked an evening meal like that of

the morning. He then retired alone to his cottage and passed the night unprotected against treachery. This life continued many weeks at the foundation of San Xavier. It was a strange change for a man of forty years of age, fresh from the college halls of the Mexican capital and association with the Viceroy and other dignitaries to the work of a peon under a torrid sun, with no companions but a crowd of naked and listless savages.

Ugarte's loneliness continued until the confidence of the natives was won, and then he called three or four soldiers from Loretto to help in his farming and building. He cleared whatever land was fit for cultivation, laid out irrigation ditches from the wells and planted fields of wheat and maize. He brought fruit trees from Sinaloa, the olive and fig and orange, as well as garden vegetables and roots, and nursed them to maturity with persevering care. The rocky soil was favorable for vines. Father Ugarte planted a vineyard which grew and prospered. The sheep and hogs, the horses and cattle from Sonora throve well on the coarse grass of the mountain sides, which could not be tilled. The versatile Ugarte sheared the sheep and spun and wove the wool. He made distaffs and spindles with his own hands, and taught the Indian women and boys how to use them and to make coarse cloth for their own clothing. At a later time he brought a weaver, Antonio Moran by name, from Guadalajara to perfect the industry, and maintained him for some years, until the converts were able to carry on the work unaided. He also provided a female teacher to teach the Indian girls sewing and spinning. He acted himself as instructor to the boys in all the trades useful to their life, carpenter work, smithing and brick making. Two schools and a hospital for the sick and aged natives were among the debts which the mission of St. Xavier owed to the versatile benevolence of the Mexican Jesuit.

His labors were not always well requited. His first crop of maize was torn up at night, and the goats and

sheep of his little flock slaughtered at the very time when famine threatened the settlements. This outbreak was caused by an accident which could not have been foreseen by any care. A soldier had married an Indian woman who was induced by her mother to desert her home during the dances of the rancherias. The husband followed her and was killed in a scuffle. His slayers were emboldened to wreck the mission at San Xavier, and even to threaten the garrison at Loretto. Father Ugarte was absent on a visit to a distant point, and returned to find his harvest ruined. A few weeks after, when a bark arrived from Sonora, the hostiles came to beg forgiveness, and got it without punishment. Ugarte resowed his fields and at last his industry was crowned with success. Four years later, when the crops failed in Sinaloa and Sonora, the fields of San Xavier gave bread to the whole colony for several months, as well as corn for its own Indians. The vineyard there supplied all the wine needed for the missions and left a surplus, which was sent to Mexico as gifts to friends there. Wine was the only product which was not shared with the natives. The special effect of intoxicating liquor on the native Americans was well known to the Jesuits, and though holding no theories of total abstinence, they guarded their converts against the risk of temptations.

The work of material development thus carried on did not divert Father Ugarte from the instruction of his savage pupils in the faith. Besides the daily instruction at the mission, he visited the distant rancherias in their mountains and won their members to hear him. It was impossible to support the whole native population from the plantations at the mission. Father Ugarte urged the distant residents to group themselves at the spots which offered the promise of supporting village communities under the conditions of California life. To these he made regular visits, and repeated in each, for a few days, the methods of the central mission. Father Salvatierra did

the same from Loretto, where he too dwelt alone. The wants of the missions had made him send Father Piccolo to Mexico to seek aid from the authorities and the benevolence of individuals. Work and begging were the alternate tasks of the early Jesuits in California.

The result of Piccolo's mission was only moderate. A wealthy Mexican, the Marquis de Villa Puente, endowed three more missions, and Philip V, the first Bourbon King of Spain, on his accession, in 1700, ordered a yearly subsidy of six thousand dollars in aid of the California establishments, but only one year's payment was made. The high officials of the Viceroyalty were mostly ill disposed towards Salvatierra's work. Some were jealous of its success. After the failures of the government in a like task, others, especially military officers, grumbled at allowing priests to have control of soldiers, and finally the merchants interested in pearl fishing on the Gulf disliked the presence in California of a military officer with authority to prevent forced employment of the natives as divers. Father Piccolo, after many months' effort, was only able to bring back some food supplies and two priests. One, Bassaldua, was a Mexican, the other a native of Sardinia, newly come to America. His health broke down in California and he had to return. Only four priests remained there six years after the foundation of Loretto.

They were still tried by both famine and wars. The murder of the Spanish soldier at San Xavier had been pardoned, but the slayer took the pardon for evidence of weakness and a couple of years afterwards he stirred up his own clan to make a raid on the mission in force. They murdered twenty-seven converts, chiefly women and children. Captain Lorenzo took the matter into his own hands as governor, hunted down the hostiles, and, after trial, had the chief culprit executed at Loretto. Father Salvatierra pleaded for his life, but the Governor was resolute. There were no further outbreaks for many years.

Storms in the Gulf caused a little later the wreck of three vessels engaged in the pearl fisheries and interrupted all communication with the mainland for many months. The shipwrecked crews had all to be supported meantime from the scanty resources at Salvatierra's disposal. They were so nearly exhausted that he again had prepared to send away all the workmen and soldiers and remain unprotected with Father Ugarte, when a cargo of provisions, sent by the Sonora Indians, removed the immediate danger.

The lack of helpers was the heaviest trial of Salvatierra's life. It seemed impossible to get missionaries for California, even when its settlement had been made. Twenty years had passed since Kuehn and Salvatierra devoted their lives to the conversion of California, and there were yet only three priests on its soil. The number had been raised to five on Father Piccolo's return in 1702, but Minutili broke down in a few months, and shortly afterwards Piccolo himself had to be sent to Guaymas as procurator. Further necessities obliged the superior to send Bassaldua to the Capital to urge the payment of the subsidy granted by Philip. Meantime Salvatierra and Ugarte had to bear the whole burden of the peninsula and its people.

Bassaldua's mission to Mexico brought little help to California. The War of the Spanish Succession had broken out in a few months after the accession of Philip V, and Spain was involved in a disastrous civil war. The treasure fleet from Mexico was sunk by hostile forces in the Bay of Vigo, and the losses therefrom fell heavily on the classes in America that had so far contributed to the support of the missions. The Viceroy and his council could not even pay the sum lately granted by the King, and Father Bassaldua could only bring back a small cargo of supplies and one colleague as the result of his journey. The colleague was Father Pedro, a younger brother of Juan Ugarte.

His arrival raised the number of priests in California to four, but almost immediately Father Salvatierra himself was called away by order of the Provincial. He was directed to make a visitation of all the northern missions of Mexico in view of disturbances that might arise from the new war in Spain. Salvatierra made Juan Ugarte superior in California and sailed for Matanchel, whence he started on horseback for the Capital. On the way he received news of his elevation to the charge of Provincial of Mexico in consequence of the death of the occupant of that high office. He had been named successor in the sealed orders of the General, which were only opened on the death of the Provincial. Salvatierra had no option but to assume the charge thus laid on him, but he wrote at once to Rome asking to be relieved of it and to be allowed to devote the rest of his life to the Californian savages.

Though his request was granted when received, it took eighteen months before the answer reached Mexico and he was again free to return to California. In the meantime he did what he could to promote the interests of his former mission. He made a new arrangement of the Pious Fund on which its support depended now exclusively. The original founders had bound themselves to pay five hundred dollars annually as an endowment for each mission. One had been lost by the failure of the donor, and Salvatierra induced the others to convert their donations into lump sums of ten thousand dollars each. The funds thus obtained were invested in lands and plantations in different provinces, and Salvatierra appointed a special administration for them under a Procurator belonging to the order, but subject to the California Superior. The products of the estates were to be used directly for the support of the missions, in the way of food and clothing supplies, as far as possible, but in any case the revenue was to be exclusively applied to the support of missions for the conversion and civilization of the natives

of California. His system was not afterwards changed during the time of the Jesuits in Mexico.

His efforts to obtain the grant made by Philip from the Mexican treasury were less successful. The Viceroy who had succeeded Montezuma felt little interest in mission work, and his council retained old prejudices against the utility of any settlement of California. The Provincial pointed out in vain the value to Mexico of a port of call between Manila and Acapulco for the Philippine galleons. It could be had by the conversion and peaceable organization of the natives of the peninsula through missionary influence, but in no other way. The land was not fit to maintain a European population, or even the smallest self-supporting colony. He described what had been already accomplished during the eight years of his own labors. A district extending fifty leagues along the coast of the Gulf had been opened up and its savage population made orderly Spanish subjects without violence. Twelve hundred had already been enrolled as Christians, and with sufficient teachers there was no ground to doubt but the whole population of the peninsula could be brought to the same condition. His arguments were addressed both to the Home Government and the Mexican administration. The King's ministers were so impressed by them that they ordered not only the first grant, but an additional subsidy of thirteen thousand dollars for the missions and the stationing of a naval vessel in the Gulf for their protection. The Mexican officials paid attention to neither order. The evasions used were the common practice of unwilling officials at a distance from the center of authority. The Viceroy met the royal order by a request to know from what source the funds were to be appropriated. When that was told, after many months, his council urged that they needed personal conference with the actual missioners before they could take action. When they were then ordered to settle with Salvatierra himself they waited till he had

gone away from Mexico and then gave his absence as a reason for postponing any action.

Permission for Salvatierra to return to California came before the Mexican officials had come to any decision on the payment of the royal grants. He waited no longer, but set off for his mission with only the company of a lay brother, Bravo, who had volunteered his services and was the first lay coadjutor in California. On landing at Loretto after two years' absence he found that Juan Ugarte's energy had accomplished wonders. He had founded two new stations, one under his brother at Malibat, on the coast south of Loretto, the other at the port of Mulege, a hundred miles to the north. Father Bassaldua was alone at the last place and was making converts with great rapidity. The Indians around showed much more intelligence than the other tribes. Many learned Spanish readily, and when they had learned it were quite willing to act as teachers of the other tribes.

The Superior had also made a long exploration of the ocean side of California to the west of Loretto. The Christian chief of the Yaquis had come from Sonora to join in this exploration, with forty of his warriors as an escort to the priest. The Yaquis had been converted by the Jesuits a generation earlier, and although famed through Sonora for their fidelity to the Spaniards, they kept their old tribal organization unchanged. Their services to the California missioners were not confined to this occasion, and all the old Jesuit writers speak gratefully of "the most faithful Yaqui Nation."

To Father Ugarte were also due the first schools among the children of California. He built one for boys and another for girls, at San Xavier within four years after its beginning, and he had established a boarding-school at Loretto during Salvatierra's absence. The brightest boys from each mission were brought there, and, besides the Christian doctrine, were taught reading and writing in Spanish, music and simple trades. Those who showed

most ability were further trained as native teachers for the other missions. The range of instruction was not large, but it was given with thorough care and seemed ample for the intelligence of the first generation of men just emerging from a savage life.

It is of interest to note the ideas of the Jesuit teachers on the Californians in the beginning of the seventeenth century as told by themselves. Very different methods have been since tried for the elementary schooling of more or less savage races. For religious and moral training, which held the first place in their system, the old Jesuits laid more value on oral teaching and explanation, with constant repetitions, than on books. They composed catechisms in the native dialects and used them carefully, but they did not count much on their efficacy without the teacher's personal explanation. Regular habits of work, respect for religion and good manners in social intercourse, were the subjects they deemed most important in the primary training of the converted savages. Reading, writing and music were the chief further branches taught with special trades. The contrast is marked between their methods and those of the American missionaries in Hawaii a hundred years later. The latter printed books and distributed them freely within three or four years of their landing. Learning to read became a universal pastime among chiefs and people for some years, and was very widely diffused, but it is admitted that it made no change in the morality or even intelligence of the learners.

The language of the Catholic missionaries concerning the beliefs and superstitions of the savages is also in strong contrast with that of the missionaries of Hawaii. The latter dwelt on the idolatry and degradation of the natives in their original state. All the Californian Jesuits insisted that the savages were not idolators, as they did not worship idols. They also dwelt much on the elements of natural religion and morality that could be formed in their minds by careful study. The term of "gentiles,"

used by all the Jesuit writers on the Californians, well expresses their judgment. It is the same as that used towards the nations of man outside the Jewish race and implies only the absence of intelligent faith in those so designated, not any necessary moral wrong.

On another point, the judgment of the Jesuits on the witchcraft claimed widely by the Californian Guamas or medicine men, is worthy of notice. The Guamas were numerous and influential in every part of the peninsula. They were everywhere hostile to the new doctrines and the chief opponents of their teachers. They openly claimed supernatural powers and personal intercourse with spirits. A portion of them even claimed inspiration from evil spirits. The legend of Tuparan offered a remarkable parallel to the Christian ideas concerning the spirit of evil. The common existence of witchcraft among even Christians was commonly held in Europe during the seventeenth century. In New England, between Kuehn's visit to California and Salvatierra's, more than twenty persons were executed for its supposed practice. The evidence against the first victim was an Indian woman whose pretensions were precisely similar to those of the Californian Guamas. It is remarkable that no credit was given to the latter by any of the missionaries. Both Venegas and Clavigero, the historians of Lower California, declare the unanimous judgment of all the Jesuits to have been that the magic powers of the Guamas were mere imposture. Their object was personal gain, not necromancy. Some of the priests admitted that remarkable cures were occasionally noted in their treatment of the sick, but they attributed them only to natural agencies not yet understood. Even in the mission communities no punishments were inflicted for pretended witchcraft.

Pedro Ugarte, at Malabat, followed a course like his brothers at the first settlement of San Xavier. Though he had not the latter's physical powers, he showed equal courage in facing the plots formed against his life. On

one occasion he challenged a body of conspirators to face a gun without lock, and awed them into submission alone. He led the natives to work at making adobes as a game of strength and endurance in which he pitted himself against them. The southern tribes among whom Malabat was situated were ruder and less docile than the Cochimis of the north, but Father Pedro's courage and unfailing cheerfulness finally won him complete ascendency among them. It was the more remarkable as the mission had no

CALIFORNIA INCANTATIONS
from Venegas

lands to cultivate and the natives after conversion had still to support themselves in the old way by hunting roots and berries. He utilized the sea, however, to furnish them with better food and taught them to make nets and use boats for fishing. To make the most of every resource for support was indispensable in a California missionary teacher.

Father Mayorga, the only recruit brought to California by the ex-provincial, broke down at first from the hardships of the voyage and the privations of life in the new

land. He was the first priest of Spanish birth to come to California. He had just crossed the Atlantic before undertaking the long journey from the capital, and his strength failed as Minutili's had. His superior proposed to send him to Sonora, but Mayorga pleaded to remain, and if need be to die in the field of work he had chosen. He was allowed to stay, and after some months grew acclimated and recovered his health completely. Eighteen months after his arrival Salvatierra employed him on a new mission at Comondu, a district in the center of the peninsula sixty miles from Loretto. It was the nearest place where water and land for tillage could be found, so the distance was disregarded. The Spanish Jesuit was successful from the beginning. He cultivated a farm and planted a vineyard, as at San Xavier, and built two schools for the children and a hospital for the sick at his central station, which was named San Jose de Comondu. He formed two other settlements at some distance from his residence and visited them regularly to instruct their people. His life at Comondu lasted twenty-nine years and it was there he left his body, twenty years after Salvatierra's death.

There were no new establishments for the next eight years. The War of Succession laid Spain waste and interrupted communications between the colonies and Europe. Few missionaries could reach America and none could be spared from Mexico for California. Father Salvatierra toiled on with unlessened courage all through the long time of waiting. Sickness came besides to try both natives and Europeans in the peninsula during this time. The smallpox, so fatal to the Indian races, was brought to California in 1709 and decimated both the converts and the wild savages. Several of the Mexican and European soldiers and settlers died of it and of other epidemics which followed. The priests were all attacked by the last. Salvatierra was twice brought to the verge of death, and even the iron constitution of Juan Ugarte nearly succumbed. His brother and Father Bassaldua were

hopelessly invalided. They had to be sent to Sonora as the only chance of saving their lives. Two priests were sent to replace them in 1711, but the vessel which carried them was wrecked in the Gulf by a hurricane. One, Father Guisi, was drowned, as well as six of the crew. The other, after many dangers, reached Loretto. Shipwrecks were a common incident of the early Californian missions.

There was only one small schooner left after the loss of Father Guisi's ship to communicate between California and the mainland. A few months afterwards it was carried away far to the north and wrecked on the Sonora coast in the territory of the hostile Seris. That tribe was scarcely less dreaded by the Spaniards than the Apaches. The crew made their way with difficulty to the Yaqui River and reported the loss. Salvatierra, then nearly seventy, crossed the Gulf in a small boat. He got some Christian Yaquis as an escort and visited the Seris. He won their confidence and made peace between them and the Pimas. They helped him to refit the wrecked vessel and launch it again, and they restored the cargo, which they had already plundered. They asked for teachers and promised to become Christians, as the Apaches had once done to Father Kuehn.

The latter missionary passed away at almost the same time at his mission, in Sonora. It had never been granted him to put foot on Californian soil since his first visit, but it was unquestionably his efforts that gave the first impulse to Salvatierra's mission there. Kuehn had been wonderfully successful in the conversion of the natives of Sonora and Arizona. It was estimated that he had made himself no less than forty-eight thousand converts. The length of the mission journeys made by him, mostly on foot and with no shelter but the sky, was reckoned at over twenty thousand miles. The lawlessness of the frontier garrisons, especially during the troubled times of the War of Succession, were the chief hindrance to Kuehn's complete success in making the whole native population Chris-

tians. There was little doubt but that he would have won over the Apaches had he been permitted to accept their invitation to reside among them. Kuehn's death was felt by Salvatierra as that of a brother.

The absence of national jealousies among those engaged in all the old Spanish missions is very remarkable. The Austrian Archduke Charles was disputing the crown of Spain with the French Philip through the first twelve years of the eighteenth century. The American colonies all recognized the latter as their sovereign, but there was no hesitation felt in Mexico about employing the Austrian Kuehn in surveys of the frontiers. In Europe Madrid was twice occupied by hostile German and Portuguese armies at the time when the Portuguese Captain Lorenzo represented Philip V. as Governor of California in virtue of the nomination made by an Italian priest. No question on this subject was ever raised by the Mexican council or military officers, though prone to criticism of the influence of priests in California over soldiers.

Though the conditions of the country during the war hindered the formation of mission stations in California, the number of converts increased considerably. After the foundation of Ugarte's seminary at Loretto it was not uncommon for native converts to go as teachers among the distant heathen rancherias. A tribe thus taught came from the shore of the Pacific in a body to Mulege to ask for instruction and baptism. Another deputation came from Kada Kaaman, in the north, more than a hundred miles to Loretto with a like request. Salvatierra could only promise them teachers at some future time, as he had none at his disposal then.

These favorable dispositions towards Christianity were chiefly shown among the tribes of the north belonging to the Cochimi race. The south of the peninsula was occupied by the Guaicuris and Pericus, who were much less friendly. The Pericus around Cape St. Lucas had many deserters from the pearl fishing boats among them,

chiefly runaway negroes and mulattos, and these men were particularly hostile to Christian morality. The Guaicuris along the lower shores of the Gulf were constantly warring with the pearl fishers. Father Salvatierra was particularly anxious to establish a mission near La Paz or Cape St. Lucas as a nucleus for a supply port and post for the Philippine ships. In 1716 he sent messengers to the Guaicuris as he was unable through illness to visit them personally, but they refused even to hear them. He tried a last resource. A pearl schooner's crew had captured three Guaicuris as slaves. Salvatierra ransomed them, and after treating them hospitably at Loretto, sent them in the mission vessel to their home. He only asked them to tell their people the difference in objects between Christian pearl fishers and Christian teachers of religion.

He did not live to learn the result of his message. He was now seventy-two and a painful illness came to cripple him on his pallet for many weeks. He had no colleague at Loretto except the lay brother Bravo, but through him Salvatierra continued to direct all the affairs of the mission, even while racked with pain. Early in 1717 a new priest, Father Tamaral, arrived at Loretto. He brought unexpected tidings. A new Viceroy desired the presence of Salvatierra in Mexico to learn from him personally full details of the conditions of California with a view to important developments. Alberoni, the chief minister of Philip, had planned great things for organizing and improving the colonial empire of Spain, and amongst other points promoting communications between Mexico and the Philippines. He had demanded of the Viceroy the fullest particulars concerning the actual condition of the Californian missions, and the latter asked Salvatierra, if possible, to come to Mexico to give them.

The journey under the conditions of the time was an effort to tax the strongest explorer. Salvatierra, though broken down with acute illness and over seventy years of age, did not hesitate to accept it, on a point so important

to the interests of his Californians. He rose from his bed, called Juan Ugarte to Loretto and appointed him superior and then took passage in the mission vessel to Matanchel. More than a thousand miles of the roughest roads lay between that port and the Capital, but the old man did not fear to attempt it. He made the journey on horseback to Tepic, but there his pains had so increased that he could no longer mount a horse. Still he would not halt. He had a litter prepared and was carried on it to Guadalajara, on the road to the Capital, but there his strength wholly failed. He was carried to the hospital in Guadalajara unable to rise, and lay two months racked with sharp pain as well as weakness. Even under these conditions he gave the fullest instructions of his plans for the missions to the lay brother who accompanied him and whom he commissioned to bear them to the Viceroy as his own representative. It was not till he had finished this task that the founder of the Californian mission passed away from labor and life, twenty years after the foundation of Loretto. His death was mourned in Mexico as a national loss. His funeral at Guadalajara received the honors that would be given to a Viceroy, and the history of his life was printed and widely circulated through New Spain.

CHAPTER VII

Juan Ugarte

The lay brother Bravo, after Salvatierra's death, carried his dying instructions relating to California to the Provincial of Mexico, by whom they were laid before the Viceroy. Though the Mexican officials were generally unfavorable to the California missions, it is a curious illustration of Spanish ideas that the lay brother himself was asked to appear before the Council of State as an adviser and was even commissioned by it to draw an official report on California for transmission to the King. The report was endorsed by the Viceroy and Council also in flattering terms. The incident indicates a remarkable absence of class prejudice among even the highest Spanish functionaries in America at the time. One cannot imagine an English or Irish Privy Council taking the advice of a parish clerk on matters of state policy at any period of the eighteenth century.

The most important recommendations of the deceased Superior were the enlargement of the Indian normal school at Loretto, the establishment of a second military post in the south of California as a protection for the Philippine ships, and that the old garrison should be paid by the crown and the Pious Fund left entirely for mission purposes. It is a curious fact that a Spanish soldier's pay in California at the time was four hundred and fifty dollars a year. It was found impossible by the authorities to procure soldiers for such service at less cost, though in the system of Salvatierra five hundred was considered enough for the support of a missionary and his mission.

The Viceroy granted eighteen thousand dollars annually for the Loretto garrison, but referred the other points to the Council of the Indies. Philip V. had in fact or-

dered a subsidy of nineteen thousand to the Californian missions more than ten years before, but it had not been paid. The Council now coupled the grant with a request that in return the Jesuit missionaries should as soon as possible make a survey and charts of the Gulf coasts for the public service.

Such a work needed vessels of a better class than the schooners and launches with which the missionaries maintained communication with Mexico. The missions had indeed at the time only one small schooner. The difficulty of finding seaworthy vessels on the Pacific coast of Mexico was one of the most serious that Salvatierra had to struggle with. There were no government vessels there, and but little commerce or shipbuilding facilities. The first colony was carried in a borrowed vessel, which took six months to reach the Yaqui from Acapulco. That which Salvatierra bought to replace her was unseaworthy and was lost on her second trip. Another shared her fate the following year, and two or three more of Peruvian build were procured and lost before 1709. Salvatierra then tried to have a vessel built in Acapulco under the supervision of one of his priests. The builders scamped the work, and on her second voyage she was wrecked in a gale and a missionary and six sailors perished. Vessels of such a kind were wholly unfit for the exploration of the perilous currents and stormy seas of the yet uncharted Gulf.

Father Ugarte had been left Superior by Salvatierra and was confirmed in office by the Provincial. He was informed of the Viceroy's desire and agreed to carry it out. For that end he decided to build a balandra or brig in California under his own direction. The project was laughed at by the Mexican shipbuilders, but the former Professor of Philosophy went at its execution. Cactus and mesquite bushes were the only timber yet found by the Europeans on the peninsula, but Ugarte had heard through Indians of a grove of guariba trees in a valley a hundred miles

from Loretto. He went to the place and found the grove, then brought a ship carpenter from Acapulco to examine the fitness of the trees for shipbuilding. The expert pronounced the timber good, but its transport impossible through the mountains. Ugarte only told him to select a suitable place for shipbuilding near Mulege and promised to bring the logs there in good condition. He collected a party of Indians, built a road fit for hauling over forty miles in length and camped for four months at the grove, where he felled, barked and hauled to the coast timber enough to build a brig and a large pinnace. He superintended the whole work personally and he was able to induce the gentile natives around Huasinipi, the name of the place in California dialect, to help. They came indeed for it from the rancherias around. They gathered in numbers to watch the new enterprise and the Jesuit alternated wood cutting with missionary teaching. When the timber had been hauled away he left the nucleus of a mission among the Indians of Huasinipi, which was developed later into a larger settlement than any of the older ones.

In Mulege, Ugarte took an equal share in the construction of the brig. He trained sawyers and ship carpenters from the Californian converts as he had trained builders and cultivators at San Xavier. The iron work, cordage and sails were brought from Acapulco, and after fourteen months the brig was launched and christened "Triumph of the Cross." She was larger than any vessel yet owned by the missions and she proved her sailing qualities by many years' service. With all its drawbacks, shipbuilding in California was found less costly than any similar work executed in the Pacific ports of Mexico.

The first use to which the new ship was put was to found a mission at La Paz, a hundred miles south of Loretto, where Salvatierra had tried in vain to conciliate the unfriendly Guaicuris. The missions up to this time had been all among the Cochimis, who extended from Loretto to the Colorado mouth in various subdivisions. The south

of the peninsula was occupied by races known as Guaicuris and Pericus, both hostile to Europeans. They were also fierce and treacherous to a degree unknown among the milder Cochimis. Polygamy was prevalent among the Pericus, and they proved the least disposed of any to accept Christianity. These considerations were not enough to discourage Ugarte, and besides it was most desirable that the south of California should be settled for the sake of communications between the Philippines and Mexico. La Paz was the first Guaicuri mission.

Its beginning was more favorable than had been looked for. The three Indians whom Salvatierra had ransomed had given a new idea of missioners to their countrymen. When Ugarte landed, a crowd came to greet him and ask for a priest to be left to teach them. Cordial relations were formed and temporary buildings run up near the shore. The Indians had been harassed both by the pearl fishers and their native neighbors on the islands. Ugarte visited the islanders and won them to peace. He promised security against injury from any Europeans and effectually gained the good will of the suspicious Guaicuris during a stay of some weeks.

The missionary entrusted with their conversion was the late Brother Bravo, who had assisted at Father Salvatierra's deathbed. Owing to the peculiar organization of the Californian Jesuit missions, their members were nearly all priests. The first exception was Brother Bravo. Salvatierra brought him with him on the expiration of his Provincialate in Mexico, and during the intervening twelve years he had acted as manager of the magazine at Loretto. The ability and good sense shown by him when called to the council of the Viceroy had attracted notice in Mexico, and in 1719, when he landed in Matanchel on some business, he was met by a letter from the Provincial desiring him to receive Holy Orders and take up the functions of missionary at La Paz. He complied and returned in a new vessel presented by the authorities to

California. The historian of California sums up his account by saying the missions that year "got a new vessel, a new priest and a new brother."

The brother was the lieutenant of the garrison, who, after some years' service, asked for admission to the Order. He was accepted and further allowed to serve his probation in California during the usual novitiate. Brother Mugizabal filled the duty of procurator for over forty subsequent years and was the sole Jesuit lay brother to lay his body in Californian soil.

Father Bravo's career at La Paz was successful beyond anticipation. The barren soil gave little chance for raising corn, but he found a few fields that could be irrigated, and worked them. Six hundred Christians were enrolled during seven years and gathered into three villages. Over eight hundred other gentiles were receiving instruction when Bravo was called to Loretto to relieve the veteran Father Piccolo. His place at La Paz was filled by a Jesuit of Scottish birth, Father William Gordon. He had come to work for the conversion of savages at a time when membership of the Jesuit Order was a capital offence in his native land under English Parliamentary law.

Another foundation projected long before by Salvatierra was begun the year after his death. The Spanish Father Tamaral, the latest recruit of his administration, was charged with it. Its location was on the Pacific Coast, ninety miles west of Mulege and its name, Purissima Conception, a favorite one with all Spanish missionaries. Tamaral was unlike Ugarte in physique. He was small in stature and delicate in health, but he had an energy which made up for his physical weakness and carried him through works scarcely less than those of his superior. He spent his first year at San Xavier to learn the Californian dialect, and then started almost alone across the mountains to the place appointed him and began to build his church and house with his own hands. His reception

was singularly favorable and indicated curiously the change in ideas that had been spreading among even the heathen population since the foundation of Loretto. Two rancherias came from the Pacific shore to ask for instruction at San Xavier at the moment when Tamaral was setting out to begin his mission. It appeared that the new religion was much discussed even among tribes which had never seen a priest. The Guamas, or medicine men, were generally hostile to it, but many others approved and came often long distances to seek instruction.

Father Tamaral's first task, after his church and cottage, was to build a passable road ninety miles long across the width of the peninsula to Mulege. The natives came in numbers to his mission, but he did not confine his efforts to them alone. He explored the coast down to near its southern extremity and visited nearly every tribe in the whole district. Of the forty rancherias into which it was subdivided he won over thirty-three in the course of eight years, during which he baptized no less than two thousand persons. Like Ugarte, he formed farms and irrigation ditches where possible and so thoroughly that nearly all his converts were supplied with permanent food supplies. During these works the life of Tamaral was often threatened by the angry medicine men.

At Huasinipi, where Ugarte had found his ship timber, the German Everard Helen came to settle, while Father Bravo was founding La Paz. The Governor Lorenzo, accompanied with some men on his first expedition, and remained six weeks to build a church and residence. The Indians had already been won over by Father Ugarte and came asking to be made Christians spontaneously from the beginning of the mission, which received the name of Guadalupe, after the famous Mexican shrine. Owing to the remoteness of the place, Lorenzo left four soldiers to protect the missionary, but there was no need of their services, except in the work of building and road making. The good will of the natives continued, and

deputations came to the church settlement asking Father Helen to visit distant rancherias to baptize the old and infirm, who could not make the journey. Six years later the Jesuit visitor found seventeen hundred Christian Indians in the district of Guadalupe. They were divided among thirty-two settlements, as the soil nowhere admitted cultivation and the converts had to live like their savage brethren on the fruits and roots of the mountains. Cattle, however, were introduced and gave considerable help to supporting the scattered population at a later time. Father Helen gradually collected twenty rancherias into five villages, in each of which a chapel served as a center to draw the natives from their solitary life in the hills. The others were joined to nearer missions, some to that of Mulege and others to San Ignacio after its foundation to the north of Guadalupe.

The foundations of Guadalupe and La Paz were both made in 1720. The unwearied Ugarte next turned himself to the work of sea exploration with his new vessel. While that vessel was building he had sent Father Guilen to explore the Pacific Coast and especially to find the Magdalena Bay mentioned in the journal of Viscaino a hundred and twenty years earlier. To find a suitable location for a way port for the Manila galleons was the object chiefly sought, in accordance with the requirements of the home government. Father Guilen reached Magdalena Bay from Mulege in company with Captain Lorenzo and some soldiers as an escort. The journey was a tedious one of twenty-five days, through rocks and precipices, and when the bay was discovered the want of water made its harbor of little value for the purposes required. The captain and soldiers were too discouraged to continue explorations around, as Father Guilen desired, and the party returned to Loretto. The bay and the country around it was made the site of an American colony about thirty years ago, with results which justified the unfavorable reports of the first visitors. A hundred or more immigrants attempted

a settlement on the strength of flattering accounts of the soil and climate. A colony was laid out on paper, with two cities, twelve towns and a hundred villages. The only occupation found by the settlers was the gathering of orchilla from the rocks, and the fate of the colony was like that of Otondo's.

Almost at the same time the Spanish Father Guilen was sent to found a settlement midway between Malabat and La Paz. It received the name of Dolores. The natives were of the Guaicuri race and were much harried by the islanders in the gulf. Captain Lorenzo, after the mission was founded, stopped the raids by burning some canoes and terrifying the hostiles into peace. Father Guilen, after twenty years, was able to declare that every native in his district was a Christian. The converts, it may be added, showed their fidelity on the occasion of the Pericu outbreak in a remarkable manner.

Father Napoli's mission experience at the Bay of Palms at nearly the same time was more exciting. He was a native of Italy, and but new in California when he was sent to found a mission among the Pericus. Bravo accompanied him from La Paz at his first visit, and the two priests pitched a tent on the shore and waited some days for the arrival of the launch which carried supplies from Loretto. No natives appeared at first, but when one evening Father Napoli took a walk to some distance alone, a crowd rushed on him from the bushes, all naked and armed, except the leader. The latter had a crown of feathers, a mantle of human hair, a girdle adorned with deer hoofs and his face painted with bands of red and black. The Italian priest confessed that at first sight he took the apparition for the spirit of evil in bodily shape. He hurriedly blessed himself and went to meet the crowd. The warriors halted, and when the priest offered them his pen knife and some other articles as a pledge of peace they grew mild and accompanied him peacefully back to his tent. A distribution of biscuit there made them quite

friendly, though they showed fear of the horses and watch dog and made signs that they should be sent away before their next coming.

Parties came from all sides the next day to the number of several hundreds, and many brought fruits and roots as gifts and took the food and clothing offered in return with much appreciation. They pointed out the place where the launch had anchored and showed every sign of friendship towards their visitors. Bravo selected a site, and the soldiers began at once to put up huts for residence and to serve as a chapel. The work scared the natives, who suddenly took it into their heads that it was meant for a fort and that the Guaicuris were coming from La Paz to attack them. Napoli went with a single companion through the mountains to find some and convince them that no harm was meant. Several then ventured to visit the mission site, and a treaty of peace in the native fashion was made between them and the Guaicuri Christians and celebrated by dances and a feast provided by the missionary.

The Pericu language was widely different from that of the other Californians, and Napoli went to La Paz for some months to perfect himself in it before venturing on the task of explaining his objects. He left the buildings in charge of the savages, who made no attempt to injure them. He was well received on his return, but the Pericus showed little interest in his religious teaching. The mission buildings had to be removed, as the site first chosen was too distant from the rancherias. Napoli built a church of rough stone some miles inland with great difficulty. He also found a spring and patch of land on which, with irrigation, he raised a corn crop. The natives helped in the works, but most of them positively refused to accept Christianity. Their practice of polygamy was the chief obstacle. Father Napoli could only make ninety converts during the six years that he continued at the mission among the Pericus.

Father Ugarte's brig sailed to the exploration of the gulf in May, 1721. It was still thought, even in Spain, that a strait might exist somewhere across the peninsula, as some Dutch sailors claimed, who asserted they had sailed through it. Both English and Dutch vessels had visited Californian waters during many years, but it was only as pirates, and no charts or surveys of the gulf existed. To make such was a part of the Jesuit missioner's task, and a sufficiently dangerous one in those seas, even for the most skilful sailor. Father Ugarte's brig was manned by six Europeans, one a veteran pilot, Strafort. The other fourteen were Indians, as well as the eight who accompanied in the undecked pinnace.

The Californian coast was roughly surveyed from Mulege north to the dangerous group of islands known as Salsipuedes (get out if you can), which run across the gulf at thirty degrees latitude. The brig there crossed to the Sonora shore, between the Sonora and Caborca rivers. They needed water and provisions, but no inhabitants were seen at first. A cross was found standing in the sands, and the sailors knelt down before it, as is the usual Catholic custom. A shout followed from an Indian who was in hiding watching their actions on landing, and a number of Seris soon appeared from various hiding places. Though not yet Christians, the Seris retained affectionate remembrance of Salvatierra, who had spent some months among them ten years before. The bowsprit of Ugarte's brig was adorned with a cross as figurehead, and this confirmed their confidence. A number swam off to the vessel and kissed the hands of Father Ugarte with an enthusiasm strange to the usual Indian temper. The Seris are a more than usually suspicious tribe, and though Salvatierra had made peace between them and the Pima Christians, they had a sincere distrust of stranger visitors. The missioner had assured them that they could have confidence in any visitors who carried the sign of the

cross, as neither freebooters nor pearls fishers would be so distinguished.

The Seris showed the keenest pleasure in the visit of a friend of their old teacher. They brought water from distant wells to fill the empty casks, and carried a letter to the nearest mission to ask for provisions, as their own resources could not furnish them. They then begged Father Ugarte to visit a neighboring island where a large part of their tribe lived. Ugarte complied, though a sudden attack of rheumatism, caused by exposure to a wetting on landing, had crippled him. The island was reached. Two Seris from the mainland jumped overboard and told their countrymen that a missionary had come to see them. A crowd put off on thirteen rafts to the brig and repeated the demonstrations of welcome to Father Ugarte. They begged him to come on shore and bless their children. Ugarte was unable to use his limbs through the rheumatism, but he got himself carried on shore by the sailors. A shed of branches was made for his reception, and sitting in it the whole population came in procession to kneel at his side and receive the imposition of his hand on their heads. The missioner on his part urged them to become Christians and to get a native teacher, or Temachtian, from the nearest mission to teach them how. The vessel then returned to the mainland, got what provisions could be had, and continued the survey of the Sonora coast northward.

The coast in question was found sandy and barren, with no harbors and little water. The explorers crossed to the Californian side to the north of Tiburon Island, and landed at several points to take observations and make acquaintance with the natives. They were found to be of the Cochimi race and language, and proved equally friendly as the Seris. Navigation, however, became very difficult, owing to powerful cross-currents and shoals along the shore. The pilot Strafort was nearly lost while exploring the coast in a small boat. A sudden rise of the

tide broke the skiff in two from stem to stern, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the men managed to patch the parts together enough to rejoin the brig. The waters of the Colorado soon became conspicuous in the gulf by the red color which they brought down from the Arizona mountains. Soundings were constantly necessary to avoid being driven on shore, and progress against the current was very slow. At length the brig reached the mouth of the great river and entered its east channel. As it did so a cloudburst in the distant mountains raised its waters to a height which showed plainly that they were the product of a continent's drainage. The river was filled with floating logs, among which were also the wrecks of native cabins. The flood water raised eruptions on the bodies of the Spaniards and Indians and scurvy, too, broke out among them. Ugarte suffered like the rest, and besides was totally crippled with rheumatism. He and Strafort decided it useless to attempt to sail up the river, and the brig was turned homewards on the sixteenth of July. She was nearly lost in the labyrinth of the Salsipuedes Islands, between its cross-currents and some fierce gales. A cyclone and waterspout were the last incidents of Ugarte's voyage before reaching Loretto.

Fathers Sistiaga and Helen had explored the coasts of the ocean while their superior was visiting those of the gulf. They found three harbors, which offered shelter for small vessels, but none with any land near fit for cultivation. The result of their explorations was sent to the Viceroy with the journal of Ugarte's voyage and the charts and surveys made by him and Strafort. The Mexican authorities, though it was at their request the explorations had been made, paid so little attention to them that none of these documents were even forwarded to Spain. Alberoni had been driven from office by the combined efforts of England, Austria and the Regent of France, and his projects for the development of the Spanish colonies were quietly abandoned. All through the

existence of the Californian missions they were regarded with little favor by the colonial authorities in Mexico, though favored generally by the central government of Spain and its successive kings. Two or three Viceroys, as Montezuma and Linares, took personal interest in the work of conversion, but the great body of Mexican officials was always either indifferent or hostile. The influence of the military element and the pearl fishery interests may account for this disposition. The former disliked the interference of priests as protectors of the natives, the latter desired a free hand in securing Indian labor as divers by force. They consequently disliked the presence of a royal official in California, like the Captain of Loretto. The yield of the pearl oyster beds had, besides, decreased materially in the course of years, like the seals of Behring's Sea in our own time. The agents of the pearl merchants chose to attribute the falling off to secret work of the Jesuits, who, many said, were employing the Indians in collecting them for their own use. The charge was unfounded, as pearl fishing was forbidden absolutely by the Jesuit Provincial to all members of the Order. Nevertheless the rumors made some impression in the Mexican capital and served to encourage the ill will of the officials there.

Ugarte's explorations, though thus neglected by the Mexican authorities, awoke new interest in California among other classes. It showed itself in the foundation of three new missions by the benevolent Marquis de Villa Puente and another by a member of the old Mexican family of Luyando. The founder of this last did more. He devoted his life as well as his fortune to the missions, entered the Jesuit order, and after ordination came to California to build up the mission he had endowed.

Ugarte fixed its location at a point two hundred miles north of Loretto, known as Kada Kaaman, or the rushy brook, in the Indian dialect. It was named San Ignacio, after the founder of the Order. The natives had sent

a request for a priest to Salvatierra in 1705, and Piccolo had visited them and baptized some children the year after, but the distance and the small number of priests in California had prevented any further development. It was only in 1728 that Luyando began a permanent mission at Kada Kaaman. It was a hundred miles from the nearest of the old establishments, and Captain Lorenzo sent nine men with him to build and improve the new location.

His reception was more favorable than had been customary elsewhere. Five hundred Cochimis gathered to welcome him, and many of them had already received instructions in religion through visits of Father Sistiaga. That veteran missionary had for years been in the habit of setting out alone with a sack of dried beef as his provision and traveling for weeks among the gentile rancherias at distances often of some hundred miles away. His pupils asked to be baptized as soon as Luyando took up his abode among them, and several were enough instructed to be admitted to the sacrament in a few weeks. Others came, often from long distances, to ask instruction. For six months it took all the resources of the mission to give food to the attendants at Luyando's teaching.

Not all the Cochimis, however, were equally ready to receive the new doctrines. At Luyando's first sermon there was an uproar among part of his audience, led by a famous medicine man. When the priest had ended, the Guama delivered an excited speech, calling on his countrymen not to change their old customs for the ways of the strangers. They had never seen, he told them, the God whom Luyando spoke of, but both the speaker and other medicine men had seen and talked with Fehual, the guardian spirit of the country around. He added that Fehual was angry at the coming of the strangers, and in consequence had driven the deer away from California. As game had recently disappeared from Kada Kaaman, the threat had some weight with the savages. The next day

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

some Indians from Mulege arrived, however, and reported that they had seen several deer on the road. The medicine man's threats were derided, as well as his claims to interviews with the spirits. After some days he gave up his pretensions to magical powers and asked to be enrolled as a Christian, though rather unwillingly. Luyando required him to first surrender all fetish objects in his possession as a token of sincerity. He explained to the natives that they had no magic powers, but that imposture was forbidden to Christians as well as magic. All the other Guamas were required to give up their fetishes if they desired to be Christians. A huge pile of hair mantles, wooden tablets, deer horns and medicine pipes were gathered and publicly burned as a preliminary to the first general baptism. The rule was made afterwards a general one at all missions, though the priests always explained that the objects burned had no magic powers.

The old beliefs often lingered on after the conversion of the natives, like the fairy spells used by many European country populations. The Jesuits rooted them out slowly, and as much by ridicule as by exhortation. At San Xavier Father Juan Ugarte gave a characteristic confutation of one superstition. The California lion was held sacred among all the tribes. To kill one would, it was believed, be followed within a few days by the death of its slayer. Father Ugarte, while riding alone on a sick call from his mission, was attacked by a hungry lion. He dismounted and crushed its skull with a well-aimed rock. He then hoisted the still warm carcass behind him on his mule and brought it back to the mission, where he showed it as an object lesson of the current superstition. Many of the converts expected the death of their teacher, but when the weeks rolled on without injury to Ugarte, they lost faith in the old tradition. Some of the native hunters tried their arrows on the dreaded beasts, with like results, and a permanent reward offered for each lion's skin by Ugarte soon rooted out the superstition.

There was need of caution in dealing vigorously with superstitious practices among so primitive a race. Father Pedro Ugarte once found a medicine man practicing his spells beside a sick Christian, and chased him off with sharp reproaches. He was horrified a few hours later when some over-zealous converts announced that they had killed the Guama in question as a Christian duty. The killing of medicine men in the event of failure to cure was common among the Californians in their primitive state, and the converts revived the practice on this occasion. Father Ugarte had to impress on them the sacredness of human life as well as the evils of superstition.

The Guama who led the opposition at Luyando's arrival proved an unfaithful convert. The Jesuit named him governor of the mission after baptism on account of his superior intelligence, but had to depose him for subsequent immorality. The deposed governor left the mission and formed a faction among some of the gentiles. They attacked and wounded the converts repeatedly and even plotted to destroy the mission. The majority of the Indians, however, continued faithful to the Christian doctrine and even took the part of teachers themselves. Two months after Luyando's arrival at Kada Kaaman a large party of natives came from a distant locality to ask for baptism. They brought a large collection of fetishes to be burned as proof of their sincerity and surprised the priest by their knowledge of the elementary Catholic dogmas. They had learned them, they told him, from a Christian boy whom they had invited to their country as teacher several months before. Only a few days were needed to complete their instruction and admit them to baptism in a body.

Another incident indicated the existence of reasoning powers and perseverance among the savages of Kada Kaaman, that could hardly be expected in native Californians. A family came to the mission from a distant locality to ask baptism. They had heard the new doctrines

only through some gentiles who had visited the mission, and, without asking baptism, returned home to discuss the whole subject with the other dwellers of the rancherias. They were debated eagerly for some months in general meetings. The Guamas opposed the new doctrine as offensive to the spirits with whom they claimed intercourse. Baptism, they declared, would surely be followed by sudden death of its recipients. An epidemic of smallpox broke out while the question was still under debate, and the Guamas declared it was sent by the great spirit as punishment on the Indians for lending attention to the new creed. The family which came to the mission had all been attacked by the disease and one of the children died of it, but the survivors refused to accept the theory of the medicine men on its origin. When recovered, the five survivors came to Luyando and applied for instruction. Some of them again were attacked with illness at the mission, but they never wavered in their purpose, and were all baptized eventually. They reckoned the number of deaths from the epidemic that had occurred both among the converts and their own people, and found the mortality had been larger among the latter. Armed with this information, the family started for its old home and brought back all the neighbors of their district to enroll themselves as Christians.

San Ignacio had a better water supply than most of the missions, and one of the works on which the soldiers were employed while Luyando was teaching was to irrigate a plot of ground and put in a crop of grain. When this was done seven of the soldiers were sent back and only two remained permanently as guards. The converts showed readiness to take part in all the work of farm and buildings. The first harvest gave a hundred fanegas of wheat, and the crop rose to a thousand in the fourth year. Sheep and cattle were brought from Sonora and increased rapidly. Luyando planted a vineyard and an orchard of European and Mexican fruit trees. He also cultivated

the few native products, the camote, yucca and maguey, with much success. Four years after its foundation San Ignacio was the best provided with food of any of the missions. The founder's health, however, gave way, and he had to retire to another climate at that time and leave his work to another's care.

Luyando gave much care to providing roads between the numerous stations which formed his mission. The population was too large to be gathered near the central church, which bore the name of San Ignacio. The visitation centers were numerous, and each was provided with a chapel of adobe covered with reeds and connected with one another by regular roads. The natives built most of these of their own volition without superintendence. There was even keen rivalry between the rancherias as to which could build the best roads. On one occasion an ambitious tribe attempted to distinguish itself over another engaged in the same task by sending orders to the latter to suspend work in Luyando's name. The messenger carried a sheet of paper covered with ink scratches, as a pretended letter from the priest. The rival rancheria meanwhile worked with redoubled energy to finish its own share of the road. The unwonted industry of the northern Indians made them also house builders. They built adobe huts for residences at San Ignacio in considerable numbers, and even in many of the smaller stations. They compromised, however, with their old habits by usually sleeping in the open air. Luyando did not think it necessary to object to the practice, though he required the use of clothing for both sexes as indispensable to Christian decency.

The annals of San Ignacio were varied by a war, the first in California. Its details are a curious illustration of the organization which the Jesuits as administrators sought to give their converts in addition to instruction in religion. The Guama who plotted an attack in the early days of the mission was only one of a party among the

natives who disliked the new doctrine. Even when most of the population had accepted Christianity, a certain number of rancherias remained sullenly hostile. They often attacked the converts individually, but their acts were passed over by Father Luyando, in the hope of bringing them to better dispositions by patience. About two years after the beginning of the mission an event occurred which excited the Christians so much that stronger measures were needed for protection. A large gentile rancheria attacked one of the visiting stations and killed a girl there. Her people wished to avenge the murder by an attack on the assailants in their former fashion. Luyando restrained them, and the hostiles thought the patience the effect of fear. They raided several other Christian villages in consequence, in spite of Luyando's messages of peace. He took council with the nearest of his colleagues at Mulege, and decided to arm his converts in self-defence. He gathered the whole population of the district to San Ignacio and found it numbered seven hundred men. Three hundred were chosen for duty, and the two soldiers at the mission drilled them for some days. Shields of leather and pikes of hardwood were added to their bows and arrows, and two chiefs appointed to direct the campaign. The Indian governor of San Ignacio was one, the other elected by vote of the warriors. They were told the duty of obedience to these chiefs' orders instead of fighting in the aimless manner of savage warfare. They were charged to capture the enemy if possible and not to kill except in self-defence. The Christian warriors were collected to hear mass, and with these instructions they set out on the campaign.

It was a complete success. They surrounded the rancheria of the hostiles by night and attacked it in the early morning with blood-curdling yells. The enemy, to the number of thirty-four warriors, was captured without loss. They were marched prisoners to San Ignacio, where Father Lugardo chanted a Te Deum for the victory, and

the victors indulged in their old war dances to celebrate it. The next day the prisoners were brought for trial before the soldiers of the mission as judges, with the Indian governor as assessor. The facts of aggression and murder were stated and testified to. The military judges pronounced such offences too serious for their authority. They decreed that the prisoners should be sent to Loretto, to be tried for their lives by the governor there.

To the prisoners this appeared a sentence of death, and they all howled in abject terror. The Christian warriors gave their old savage instincts play and danced in delight, as they taunted their enemies with their coming fate. Father Luyando interfered as a priest and rebuked his converts for their revengeful feelings. He spoke on the duty of forgiveness of injuries by true Christians, and asked the judges to grant a rehearing the next day. It was granted, and a general flogging of the culprits substituted for the sending to Loretto. The ringleader received a dozen lashes, and the priest again asked for mercy for the others. They were only deprived of their arms, kept a few days as prisoners, and then released with a warning not to repeat hostilities or worse would happen the next time.

The prisoners went away only to come back in a few days and beg to be admitted to instruction at the mission. Luyando accepted all but the man who had killed the girl. He was told he must wait for admission among the candidates for baptism with perseverance. He went away but returned in a few days and asked to be killed if he could not become a Christian. Luyando received him at last. All the families of the hostiles also came and were enrolled. Such was the result of the first campaign in California.

Luyando's campaign occurred in 1731, the same year that the governor of Louisiana sent the "Great Sun" of the Natchez tribe and four hundred of his warriors as

slaves to the West Indies to avenge a war against Europeans. It was six years earlier that the militia of Massachusetts had murdered Father Rasle at the Abenaki mission of Norridgewalk.

San Ignacio mission was the last work of Father Ugarte's career. He passed away at Loretto in 1730, at the age of seventy years, thirty of which had been passed in the California peninsula. He had been continued in office without change after the death of Salvatierra, and each had been sixteen years superior, and died at the same age. There was a remarkable similarity of character as well as a strong personal attachment between the first three Jesuit superiors of California, though of such different races. All three were distinguished among their fellows for unremitting zeal, tireless energy and high talents for organization. Ugarte had been Salvatierra's auxiliary in forming the Pious Fund, and at his death the missions of California had grown to fourteen. The Jesuit visitor Ecchevari had come to California a little before Father Ugarte's death, and his report is the best comment on the work of the latter. The number of Christians among the Cochimis north of Loretto was over six thousand, besides the converts among the Guaicuris and other tribes of the south. The visitor was deeply impressed by the conduct and fervor of all the Cochimi converts. Father Piccolo had died at the age of eighty, the year before Ugarte. With his passing may be closed the pioneers of the Californian mission.

CHAPTER VIII

Martyr Missionaries

At the death of Ugarte, Father Ecchevarri was in temporary charge of the California missions as Visitor. He continued the work of the late superior without change. A few months after the passing away of Ugarte, the Visitor began in person a mission at Cape San Lucas under the name of San Jose del Cabo. His experience was like Father Napoli's at Las Palmas some years before. The natives kept away from the strangers while they were building the church and the escort remained. Ecchevarri appointed the cheerful Tamaral as first pastor, and left him with only two companions to win as best he could the good will of the suspicious Pericus. The Visitor had himself to return to Mexico, but before leaving he ordered a second foundation near the Bay of Palms, on the site of Napoli's first settlement. It had been moved inland under the name of Santiago. The new establishment was dedicated to St. Rose, the first native of America canonized by the Church. Ecchevarri named as its founder a newly arrived Spanish priest, Sigismundo Taravel. He was the youngest missionary in California, being only thirty years of age; but his talents were exceptionally high. He had been a professor in the University of Alcala before volunteering for the California mission, and besides the usual duties, he was especially commissioned by the Provincial to prepare a full history of California. He gathered materials for it during twenty-three years' experience in the peninsula, and revised his work during the following twelve in the quiet of the Jesuit college at Guadalajara. His work was preserved in the college library, and though never published in full, furnished the bulk of the works of Venegas and Clavigero.

Before beginning his mission, Taravel made an exploration of the Pacific shores and the adjacent islands in the course of 1730. In one of the latter he found a more definite tribal organization and religious system than anywhere on the mainland. A chief ruled the natives with absolute authority, and was looked on as possessed of magical powers. A curious system of taboos or prohibitions, like those found by Cook in old Hawaii, also existed. Certain fish and fruits were unlawful food for certain classes, as women or young men. It was also thought fatal to look towards a particular island in the vicinity. Taravel, however, was well received, and the natives, after hearing him for some time, agreed to leave their island in a body and settle at San Ignacio Mission. They crossed to the mainland, leaving the island uninhabited. The chief tried in vain to prevent the exodus, and accompanied it in a sullen temper. He was devoured on the way by a shark as he was trying to kill a seal near the coast. The others enrolled themselves at San Ignacio as a part of its population.

At San Jose del Cabo, after the soldiers had gone, Father Tamaral established friendly relations with the natives. He made excursions alone among the rancherias, and got a number to attend instructions at the church. The Pericus, however, were much slower than the Cochimis to accept Christianity. They were polygamists, and much under control of the medicine men, who strongly opposed acceptance of the new doctrines as lessening their influence. The renegade halfbreeds settled among the savages were another great obstacle to conversion. The priest's life was several times threatened, but by perseverance he gathered a congregation of a thousand within a year. A negro renegade shortly afterwards raised a party to attack the mission, but Tamaral organized his converts and the friendly gentiles and sent an armed party to meet the assailants. They were overawed, and promised peace;

but the existence of the mission continued more precarious than that of any other.

At Santa Rosa Taravel's experience was much the same. He gathered some converts, but the great majority refused to give up polygamy or accept Christian beliefs. The runaways from the pearl fishing vessels were hostile above others, and many of them had settled among the savages and taken up their life. One of these, named Boton, of mixed negro and Indian blood, professed himself a Christian, and on account of his superior intelligence was made mayor by Father Tamaral. He abused the authority given him to debauch some native girls. The Jesuit removed him from office and had him flogged in punishment by one of the soldiers. The punishment was the usual one in California, and excited little resentment among the natives generally, but it stirred up the vindictive halfbreed to a passion for revenge. He left the mission with threats against the priest, and took up his old life in the mountains, where he waited an opportunity for vengeance. For the time the good will of the bulk of the native converts kept him in check, but he continued plotting mischief for two years among the gentile rancherias. The southern missions had almost no protection from Loretto. Three soldiers were the whole garrison at Santa Rosa, and two Mexican laborers at Santiago. Father Gordon at La Paz had a single soldier as companion, and the missioner at San Jose del Cabo was absolutely alone. Boton bided his time to destroy the whole of the hated Europeans.

The Jesuits went on with their work in indifference to his threats. Their hopes were awakened in 1534 by the arrival for the first time of a Manila galleon within the harbor of San Barnabas, near San Jose del Cabo. The captain had no knowledge of the missions' existence, but put in to seek fresh water, and sent a boat ashore for that end. The scurvy was bad among crew and passengers, and the commander thought it better to risk an encounter

with savages than continue his course to Acapulco with a disabled crew. He was delighted to find a Christian settlement at hand, and Father Tamaral was equally rejoiced at the chance of aiding his sick countrymen, and at the proof given of the value of the California missions to the general interests of Spain and her colonies. He invited all the sick to spend some days at the mission, and furnished the crew with fresh meat and bread from the mission stores. He had no vegetables, but he sent his Indians to gather berries and cactus fruit as a specific against the scurvy. The result was most satisfactory. In a few days all the sufferers from scurvy were entirely recovered and able to resume their voyage, except three, who remained to recruit from other serious ailments. The galleon reached Acapulco without a case of sickness on board, an occurrence almost unknown in the Philippine voyages. It created a favorable impression on the Viceroy and officials, and the Provincial wrote warm congratulations to Guilen, the successor of Father Ugarte, on the importance of the event.

It proved, however, a source of misfortune to the missions. The angry Boton used the appearance of so many strangers at the Cape as an argument to the natives that the Spaniards were coming in force to destroy them, and he urged that the only way to prevent it was to kill off the few Europeans then in the country. A few months after the departure of the galleon he treacherously killed one of the soldiers at Santa Rosa and a little afterwards he found Father Bravo's companion alone at La Paz and murdered him likewise. Before the missionaries were aware of what had occurred, he gathered a party of those discontented with the mission progress and urged them to finish his work by exterminating all the Spaniards. The feeling of excitement spread even among some of the recent converts. At Santiago Father Carranzo noticed a sudden sullenness among the natives and sent messengers to bring Tamaral from his unprotected residence. He got

the letter, but refused to flee. He feared no danger, he wrote to Carranzo, but if such existed he could not desert his converts. The messengers brought back his answer, but on the way were met by Boton and an excited war party of gentiles. The halfbreed boasted of the two soldiers he had killed, and urged the Santiago Indians to join them in destroying the strangers. With the fickleness of savages the messengers joined the hostiles, and the whole party went to the mission where they found Father

MURDER OF FATHER CARRANZO
from Venegas

Carranzo alone. The two Mexican workmen had gone to bring in some cattle from the hills, without any arms but butcher knives. The messengers gave the priest Father Tamaral's letter, and while he was reading it Boton's men rushed into the house, dragged the priest out and crushed his skull with blows of clubs and rocks. They then brought out the church furniture, set it on fire and threw the body on the flames before life was extinct. An Indian boy who used to serve mass begged the warriors to spare the priest. They threw him alive into the fire, and

the band danced around in frenzy while the bodies were burning. A party went to meet the two Mexican vaqueros. They made them kill the steers they were driving, and then butchered themselves.

After a feast on the meat, the whole party traveled to San Jose del Cabo. Father Tamaral was alone, but the slayers had some hesitation about attacking him. They demanded gifts of different kinds, among others a knife, which he gave them. One of the boldest suddenly struck him down with a club and another cut his throat with the knife just given. The body was stripped and gashed with countless wounds, after which it was flung into a fire made from the furniture of the church. The slayers celebrated the event with a wild orgy.

A boy of Santiago had meanwhile run to Santa Rosa to warn Father Taravel of what had happened. He removed the sacred vessels and hurried with his two remaining companions to La Paz. There was no one found there but the body of the murdered soldier. The converts were panic stricken and powerless to take any action. Some of them rowed Taravel and his men to the island opposite the mission. Its people had been at first very hostile to the Christians, but though not converts they took no part in Boton's outbreak. Father Taravel traveled from the island by boat to the next mission, Dolores. It was in the country of the Guaicuris, and had been formed by Father Guilen some years before. Its converts remained faithful, and some days afterwards Captain Lorenzo came from Loretto with a dozen of men. In the meantime Boton's warriors attacked Santa Rosa and killed twenty-seven of the mission Indians. The others armed themselves and drove off the assailants, but the whole southern part of California was involved in bitter wars. The four missions there were wholly destroyed.

The news spread with extraordinary quickness all through the peninsula. It made strange excitement everywhere, and the medicine men among the heathen ranche-

rias in many places urged the others to fall upon the missions and kill the priests. The lesson of Indian fickleness given by the southern missions was too serious to be neglected in face of the general commotion. Father Guilen sent messengers calling all his subordinates to come quietly to Loretto until he could devise what methods might be needed. The military force there was quite inadequate to meet any general rising, and he did not wish to sacrifice the lives of his priests if such a calamity were at hand. Within a few days every mission outside Loretto was left without either priests or European soldiers. Guilen wrote an account of what had occurred and sent it to the Provincial, and also to the Viceroy of Mexico. He likewise asked for help from the governor of Sonora, the nearest Spanish official, and meanwhile he and his companions waited patiently the course of events.

The shock caused by the sudden manifestation of barbarity in the nature of the Californians was a severe one. The soldiers were discouraged at the fate of their comrades after so many years of peaceful security. The priests could scarcely realize that the men among whom they had spent their lives should suddenly develop the tiger-like brutality of the slayers of Tamaral and Carranzo. It looked as if their life-work and the conversions effected by years of unremitting toil and the closest attention had been only a d ream. Father Mayorga had been living thirty years alone among his converts at Comondu. Sistiaga, for over twenty years, had been traveling unaccompanied among the heathens in their mountains, sleeping like them on the ground and living on the same fruits and roots as they did. Father Taravel had been sailing to distant islands on an Indian raft in like confidence, and yet, after all those years, it seemed that the true nature of the Californians had been hidden from them. There must have been heavy hearts among the community gathered in Loretto at Father Guilen's call.

The first message of encouragement came from the

native converts. Those of the northern missions were in despair at the disappearance of their teachers, and quickly divined the cause. Each population gathered together and imposed submission on the handful of malcontents who had been preaching revolt after Boton's example. Deputations were then sent from every mission as far as Kada Kaaman to Loretto. Each party carried the wooden cross, usually standing before the churches, and with it traveled on foot to Loretto. There they implored their teachers to return and pledged their lives to protect them against attack. They assured Father Guilen that their own fidelity had been unshaken and, further, that they had secured the few who were liable to be dangerous. The Superior accepted their assurances, and the individual priests joyfully returned to their missions. No punishments were inflicted on the seditious parties. From San Xavier four were sent in temporary restraint to Loretto, but no more. It was evident that the great majority of the mission converts were sincerely devoted to their teachers, and the latter asked no other protection for themselves.

The Indians of Dolores in the south continued equally faithful, though a party of the gentiles there was for a while inclined to follow the example of the Pericu half-breed. Captain Lorenzo remained there with his twelve men to protect the mission against any attack by Boton. The latter gained additional glory among his following the next year by ambushing and killing the crew of a boat from the Philippine galleon which put in for water at Cape San Lucas. Thirteen unarmed sailors were killed, and the captain of the galleon could not wait to inflict punishment on their slayers. Boton boasted that fear of his warriors had driven the Spaniards away, and the arrogance of the hostiles rose proportionately. They threatened to come and burn Dolores, but Lorenzo's men drove them off after some skirmishes. The captain, however, did not think it safe to enter the hostile districts with only twelve men at his disposal. He waited the rein-

forcements to the California garrison which Guilen had asked from the governor of Sonora and the Viceroy before attempting to reoccupy the ruined missions.

The answers from both officials were disappointing. The Sonora commander sent no aid to his threatened countrymen, and the Viceroy, who was then the Archbishop of Mexico, merely expressed regret at the murders of Father Tamaral and Carranzo, but gave no answer to the request of Guilen for a vessel and soldiers enough to restore order. The jealousy of the missions entertained by many of the military officers and frontiersmen showed strongly at this crisis. From the days of Las Casas there had always been a struggle in the Spanish colonies between the missionaries and the military adventurers. The first insisted on the employment of peaceful methods and strict justice towards the natives; the latter, like most frontiersmen of other lands, either held that the only good Indians were dead ones, or at least claimed that forced labor was the proper means to make them profitable subjects of the crown. The sentiment of the Spanish people, as expressed by the policy of its rulers, from Isabella to Charles III., supported the missionaries; but public opinion among the frontiersmen was less favorable to them. The military officers and holders of grants often eluded the laws against Indian slavery in various ways. A common one, as old as the time of Columbus, was to hold natives to forced labor either as incorrigible hostiles or as prisoners on different charges. Those interested claimed that punishment for crime was not slavery, and they sought always to have the decision of criminality settled by military authority on the spot. The rule of the mission superiors in California over the garrison there was accordingly much resented by many Mexican officers and the pearl fishers of the gulf. This resentment found open expression on the first serious disaster to the Californian missions. The military critics and their friends pronounced Boton's outbreak a proof of the incapacity of

mission methods to maintain security among a savage population, and ignored the forty years' tranquility that those methods had previously secured.

There was nothing to warrant any genuine military class feeling in the arrangement established in California. The mission guards, though given the name of soldiers, were no more than a body of private watchmen, selected by the missionaries for duties required by their own experience. Their entire number was only thirty at the time of the Pericu insurrection, and there were seldom more than a dozen together at Loretto or any other place. Their work was usually of an unmilitary kind. Road making, building, cultivation of the ground and carrying messages were the common tasks of the "soldiers" in California. Father Carranzo's two guards were so employed when the savages attacked the mission. One man was stationed at each mission as a house steward and general assistant in secular work to the solitary priest. He looked after the farm work, issued rations to the native workmen and school children, and kept house when the missionary was absent on sick calls or visits to the distant rancherias. He also acted as police judge in petty offences among the mission Indians as the governor acted as judge in all capital or important cases. At remote points three or four soldiers were commonly detailed to assist in the general works. Parties were also sometimes sent to explore the country either as escort to the Jesuit travelers or alone. Some, like Captain Lorenzo, were married and when not otherwise employed cultivated their own gardens. One pursuit, however, was strictly forbidden them, namely, pearl hunting. They might neither engage in it themselves nor employ natives to dive for them under any pretext. This law was established by Salvatierra at the very beginning and kept until the expulsion of the Jesuits from their missions. The priests, themselves, were forbidden by their superiors, under Jesuit obedience, to take any part in pearl fishing. So strict was their practice that when, on one occasion,

some converts at Mulege presented a quantity of pearl oysters to Father Sistiaga he ordered them to be thrown back into the sea.

There was then nothing in the constitution or work of the mission guards to excite any legitimate jealousy among the military class of the control exercised over them. That such jealousy was freely expressed, however, is undeniable. It showed itself strongly on the occasion of the Pericu outbreak. It is not easy to tell whether it was the prejudices of this kind of the military element or other motives that influenced the Viceroy. It is only certain that he showed strange indifference to the fate of California at this crisis.

Help came from an unlooked for source. Though the Spanish Governor of Sonora refused help, the independent Yaqui tribe sent sixty picked warriors across the Gulf to protect the missions. The chief offered five hundred if needed and if transport could be had. The Yaqui contingent joined Captain Lorenzo at Dolores and marched with him to the ruined mission of La Paz. Many of the mission Indians there came to join them and told of the slaughter of the Spanish crew at San Lucas. Boton with his party came to attack the Spaniards and Yaquis but was defeated. His followers scattered in small bodies through the mountains and Lorenzo had to follow and capture them in detail before any attempt could be made to restore the missions.

He was engaged in this campaign when the Governor of Sinaloa suddenly arrived with a Spanish force. The captain of the Manila galleon on reaching Acapulco had told his story, and remonstrated hotly with the Viceroy on his neglect of the Californian settlements. The Viceroy ordered the Governor of Sinaloa to go at once to the peninsula and restore peace there. He gave him at the same time authority to regulate the military establishment there at his discretion, regardless of the conditions of the royal license to the Jesuit founders. The governor from

the beginning showed dislike of the mission methods. His first step was to recall Captain Lorenzo from his operations while he undertook to reduce the hostiles to obedience with his own men. The advice of the veteran was contemptuously disregarded and in consequence, though the insurgents were but a small body, hostilities continued for nearly two years. Finally the governor consented to take Lorenzo's advice, and by his help the warriors were twice brought to battle and defeated with loss. They begged for peace which was granted on surrendering a certain number of ringleaders and murderers. The only punishment inflicted was deportation to Sonora. The governor left thirty of his soldiers as an extra garrison in the peninsula but under a captain of his own, independent of the governor at Loretto. He further changed the police system of the Jesuits and ordered the new force to be kept in three squads of ten each at Cape San Lucas, La Paz and Santiago. The Viceroy sanctioned this measure and further withdrew all control of the original garrison from the Jesuits. Lorenzo was ordered to keep his men together at two or three posts and forbidden to allow them to act as mission guards elsewhere. It was a reversal of the whole system introduced by Father Salvatierra and a violation of the terms of the royal orders, but the Viceroy paid no attention to the protest of the Jesuit provincial on that ground. A couple of years' experience, however, showed the dangers of the new policy. The discontented natives in the south continued to commit outrages with impunity after the establishment of the new garrisons, and finally, after four years' trial, the same Viceroy recalled his orders and restored control of the local force to the mission superior.

It took long, however, to restore California to its former state, after the outbreak. The ruined churches and buildings were restored and natives gathered again around them, but the influence of the teachers had been much lessened in the south by the action of the Spanish officers.

They paid little attention to the works of the farms and wandered away at will through their mountains, often committing outrages on one another in the old savage fashion. They were decimated also by epidemics of new character. A very deadly one broke out in 1742 and it returned in 1744 and 1748. The Uchitis, a branch of the Guaicuris, near San Jose del Cabo, became involved in hostilities with the new garrison. They had always been rather turbulent but the influence of the priests had sufficed before to keep them from hostilities. The soldiers nearly exterminated them on this occasion and disease completed the work. The Pericus dwindled to a tenth of their former numbers from diseases in the fifteen years following their outbreak. The missions of La Paz and San Jose were so nearly depopulated that the survivors were all moved to Santiago in 1750. It was the only Pericu settlement left in California. The Guaicuris were also much reduced in the four missions south of Loretto.

The effect of the outbreak and the action taken by the officials of Mexico on that occasion were otherwise disastrous to the California missions. No new endowments were made for twenty-two years afterwards. The ill will shown by the Viceroy and his advisers seems to have had effect even on the general popular sentiment. Fifteen missions had been endowed by private donations during the lives of Salvatierra and Ugarte, but none during the following twenty-seven years. It was consequently impossible to form new establishments in the absence of the help which had hitherto come from the sympathy of the Catholic population of Mexico. Volunteers came readily to replace the martyred priests. The Austrian Father Consag, the Bohemian Tempis and the Germans, Retz and Inamna, arrived shortly after the news of the deaths of Tamaral and Carranzo reached Europe. They were not behind the pioneers in either courage or talents but they could not do more than continue the development of

the existing missions in the absence of the material support needed for new foundations.

They had full occupation in the task. Though most of the natives from San Ignacio southwards were already enrolled as Christians, their intellectual and moral training needed unremitting care if, as the Jesuits desired, they were to be raised to the condition of civilized mankind. They went about the task not only as missionaries of the gospel, but also as trained teachers, familiar with the methods by which in civilized countries the intelligence of children is developed by schooling. The Jesuits in California were, many of them, like Kuehn and Salvatierra, drawn from the occupation of professors in colleges. None of them, however, seems to have attempted to give a literary turn of pronounced kind to the training of their Californian pupils. After instruction in religion and practical training in morals, they aimed at drawing the newly converted savages to habits of regular work. The regularity of that work and the value attached to it they regarded more than its material results, though the latter were not neglected. The grown up converts were only urged to take part in whatever work had to be done around the missions, to attend religious instruction at stated times, and to keep from quarreling, immorality, thieving and lying. There was no drunkenness as the natives were unacquainted with liquors of any kind and the priests never allowed them to learn.

Order, in a social sense, was obtained by a simple organization. Each mission had its territory marked out by definite bounds and those enrolled as members in its community, were forbidden to go outside their district without a pass from the administrator. This restriction was chiefly intended to lessen the habit of wandering aimlessly over the country which had been the usual condition of savage life in California. It seems to have caused no trouble among the converts, especially as passes were freely given if asked for with reason. Regular attendance

at church on fixed days was another general rule and order was required during attendance. Violation of these regulations and offences of other kinds were punished either by public reprimand or by a few stripes as was the custom in European schools for all classes and ages. An intelligent native was appointed in each mission as governor to see that the laws were respected and direct the others in public work. The mission guard alone had authority to order stripes if needed.

Only part of the population of each district had its dwellings near the church and priest's house. The others continued to live in rancherias at various distances and found support, to a great part, on roots and berries as in their older life. Where a "reduction" had any land fit for cultivation the Jesuits induced as many as possible to settle near by and work it in common under their own supervision. The natives thus settled were called regularly to work by the chief. They rose at daybreak and gathered to hear mass, after which they repeated portions of the Christian doctrine, taught them before baptism, and sang some short Spanish hymns. Breakfast of corn meal was then given and the men all went to work in the fields. There was no need for severe toil in a country like California and whatever had to be done was divided among as many as possible. Dinner was given at midday, of meal with meat and vegetables as far as each place could furnish them. A long siesta was then allowed and at three o'clock work resumed till evening. When the labor was ended all the population again gathered to the church to recite the evening prayer, after which supper followed and each went to his hut to rest till morning.

On Sundays and holidays no work was done but church services were held with as much solemnity as possible. Each mission had its choir of trained singers who also learned the use of various instruments. The harp, violin and flute were the most common. The value laid on musical training by all the Jesuits is worthy of notice. A

special instruction in religion was given every Sunday and after it was over the natives indulged in games and dances, partly their own and partly introduced by their teachers. Simple miracle plays were among the latter and were much admired. It is noteworthy that the missionaries made no attempt at violent change in old customs or amusements unless of a distinctly immoral or irreligious character. Even the few arts practiced by the savages in their own life, such as basket making, were encouraged as forms of industry.

In the outlying stations a modification of discipline was established. Each had a chief who called the people to morning and evening prayers between which each family occupied itself as it pleased. On special Sundays each rancheria visited the central church and passed the day like the population fixed there. The priest also made periodical visits to each rancheria and gave its members simple instructions in religion. In the missions that had crops and cattle enough the whole population received daily rations. In the others they were only issued to the old, the school children and the chief, sacristan, and native teacher. The others, like the outlying rancherias, got food by fishing, hunting and gathering berries and roots. There was, in fact, a graduation in civilization among the converts. The members of the outlying settlements were lowest, the regular cultivators next, and the pupils of the school at Loretto, with the native teachers drawn from them, the highest in development.

That school had been founded by Father Ugarte and was recruited from the brightest children in all the missions. The pupils were boarded there during several years and trained in reading, writing, Spanish and music. Every mission had also a school for boys and another for girls in which they received instruction in religion, reading and writing, music and simple trades. Many of the children from the out settlements were boarded at the missions during their school years, which lasted from the

age of six to twelve. Sewing, spinning and weaving were among the works taught to the girls at the schools. Clothing was indispensable as a matter of modesty among the Christian converts and its materials had either to be brought from Mexico or produced in California. The sheep introduced did well and cotton was also cultivated at several missions. Both wool and cotton were woven into coarse cloth and that made into clothing by the Californian converts.

Building also gave employment to a number of the natives. Each mission had its church and presbytery, its storehouse for the common supplies, its schools and a cottage for the guard's residence. Several had also hospitals for the sick and aged. The first materials employed for all were only branches plastered with mud. Adobes of clay baked in the sun were the next stage and finally, when the Indians had been trained to cut stone and burn lime, several missions erected substantial stone buildings. Father Bravo built a handsome church with stone walls at Loretto, Father Barco at San Xavier constructed a larger one with vaulted stone roof, and the German Inamna another with nave and two aisles. The last named priest was of a highly scientific turn and made valuable experiments on the nature of snake poisons.

The result of the Jesuit training on the moral character of the Californian savages was remarkable. Drunkenness and theft were unknown and quarrels rare among the mission Indians. The only exception was among the restless Pericus. The knowledge of religion was general among all and the general life one of contentment and occupation. Some natives showed considerable ability in the new arts and otherwise an awakening intelligence above the common. The general morality was superior to that of most civilized communities according to the testimony of Clavigero. It is in curious contrast to the result obtained in Hawaii by missionaries of another kind a century afterwards. Dr. Anderson, the official historian of that mission, sums the latter up in the assertion that

"female virtue was not unknown in Hawaii" forty years after the conversion of its people.

It must be admitted that the conditions of life required for the work of the early missionaries of California were such as few would care to endure. Its solitude was intense. It took often two or three years to hold communications with Europe or a year to get answers to letters from Mexico. Every priest lived alone among his Indians with no companion of his own race except an ignorant soldier. He had to use a rude dialect in his intercourse with most of his converts, to live on the coarsest food, and only at rare intervals to have conversation with any member of his own order. The missions were spread over a barren land nearly eight hundred miles in length and often eighty or ninety miles apart. Community life was kept up by the appointment of a rector in each group of five missions, but it was only at rare intervals that visits could be paid unless in urgent need. The superior of California made a visitation each year and a special visitor from Mexico another every third year, but otherwise, each missionary had to depend on his own judgment in the perils and difficulties of his varied tasks. The health of many broke down under the strains of climate, privations and solitude. It is remarkable that others like Sistiaga, Mayorga and Consag, were able to endure the routine of desert life for thirty or more years. The lay brother Mugizabal was the longest lived of all. He passed sixty years between his entrance as a military officer there and his death at Loretto, only a brief period before the decree of banishment was launched against his brethren.

It adds a pathetic interest to the work of the Californian missionaries that the populations to whose welfare they gave their lives seemed to dwindle away when settled. The destruction wrought by disease after the Pericu outbreak in the south has been already mentioned. Even the northern missions among the Cochimis were affected by the epidemics and their population dwindled like that of the natives of Alaska at the present time. The Jesuit his-

torian while recording the fact confesses his inability to assign its cause. The material as well as the moral conditions of the mission Indians were certainly better than those of their old savage life, yet they decreased in numbers under them.

The decrease of native populations under like circumstances was not, however, peculiar to California. Both in North and South America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries epidemics occurred which threatened to annihilate the whole native population. The population, however, increased again after their cessation. In the Philippines, Medina, in 1634, had to chronicle a remarkable depopulation: "The shores of Laguna de Taal were swarming with people when the Spaniards came seventy years before, but were now very scanty of men. Lubao had only six hundred Indians. Calumpit had been a great settlement but there were no natives left. The other four missions, near Taal, were very poor in people, for the breath of the Spaniards seems a poison that slays them and consumes more than their old wars and slave hunts." In 1758 the census of the Archipelago showed a population of little over a million Christian natives. The diminution ceased, however, with time and the natives grew more rapidly in numbers after Delgado's time than most European populations.

It seems as if the passage of a race from savage to civilized life, like its transfer to new climates, is generally followed by a decrease in numbers during a transition period of more or less duration. It may end in complete disappearance as in the case of the Tasmanians or be followed by a revival in vitality under the new conditions as in the Philippines. The duration of the Jesuit missions in California was almost the same as the time reckoned by Medina from the coming of Legaspi. The teachers were not permitted to learn whether the Californians would not likewise grow in numbers when the early stage of civilized life was passed. They had only the burden of the day and the heat, not the joy of the ripened harvest.

CHAPTER IX

The Last Missions

The number of missions at the time of the Pericu outbreak was fifteen. Of these six had been founded by Salvatierra during the first eleven years. Ugarte had increased them by seven during the twelve years of his last administration and two were added by the Visitor Echevarri after Ugarte's death. Santa Rosa in 1733 was the latest and for nearly twenty years no new foundations were made. The existing missions were sufficient for the population south of San Ignacio and beyond that point no site had been found practicable. The endowments, too, remained stationary after Ugarte's death and, besides, there was difficulty in finding missionaries capable of enduring the work needed in the peninsula.

To find sites towards the north was one of the chief tasks of Ugarte's successors. Fathers Sistiaga and Consag were noted above others as desert explorers after the restoration of the southern posts. The latter reached the latitude of San Diego by land, the former explored the western districts beyond San Ignacio for over two hundred miles. The Californian peninsula widens much in its northern portion but its territory there is still more barren than in the south. The lack of water was the chief difficulty. In the course of several years only one permanent supply was found and it was nearly a hundred miles from any mission. Water holes of doubtful permanence or alkaline springs were all that were found elsewhere and these very few. The savages seemed to use the alkaline waters without harm but they were destructive to the health of the Europeans.

At the accession of Ferdinand to the throne in 1746 a new development began in Spanish America and was con-

tinued down to the troubles of the French Revolution. Philip V., after the shortlived activity of Alberoni's ministry, had given up the attempt to change the old conditions of the colonies. Philip, himself, was favorable to the missions of the Jesuits, but he did nothing but issue royal orders in their favor which remained unexecuted through the indifference of the Mexican administrators. His son showed equal good will with more energy in carrying it into practice. At the request of the royal ministry, Father Consag, in 1746, made a new survey of the Gulf and the Jesuit Father Siedlmeyer, a like work in Sonora. The long deferred projects of Salvatierra and Kuehn for extending missions into Upper California were revived.

Consag had to make his explorations with no better vessels than canoes manned by Indians. With these he reached the Colorado and mapped its entrance as Ugarte had done twenty years earlier. His charts were sent to Spain as those of his predecessor had been lost by official negligence in Mexico. Interest was revived in California among the general population and the Jesuits of Mexico. The Marquis de Villa Puente gave funds for a new mission. The decrease in population in the south soon afterwards caused the consolidation of those at La Paz and San Jose del Cabo with neighboring establishments and left their endowments available for other districts. Londo and Malibat were treated in the same way somewhat later. The Mexican Jesuits took a step in 1748 which added considerably to the number of priests available for missionary work. The provincial proposed that twenty-two Indian missions in Durango, which had been for over a century in charge of Jesuit missionaries, should be secularized, and their priests allowed to give themselves to the formation of new establishments among the heathen tribes. Secularization of missions, it must be remembered, only meant under Spanish law that their population should be placed under the religious control of parish priests named by the bishop, instead of members of religious orders to some ex-

tent free from episcopal control. It did not mean that the general management of the native communities should be changed or the lands held by them interfered with. The meaning of secularization can best be understood from the history of the attempts at converting the Indians made under Isabella and Ferdinand. The regular parish organization was then tried and found inadequate for that purpose. It was replaced by the mission system with, however, the provision that when the natives were fully established in the ways of Christian civilization, the missions should be formed into parishes like those among the Spanish population.

The Spanish government and the Roman Pontiff accepted the change of the Durango missions in 1748 and the Jesuits had in consequence a large number of priests for new work. Father Consag, the Superior of California, profited by these changes to begin a new foundation eighty miles north of San Ignacio. It got the name of St. Gertrude, Santa Gertrudis, and was located at the water source found some years earlier. The soil there was barren but the natives were numerous and the mission was begun in 1752 under the German Father, Retz.

The foundation of St. Gertrude showed the marked change in social development that had been effected among the Californians during the years since Ugarte built his mission of San Xavier. Father Retz took no part in the buildings which were all planned and constructed by a native teacher named Andres Sistiaga. He was a native of Mulege and had been trained in the school there and afterwards at the little college in Loretto. Though blind, his abilities were marked, both as a school master and a mechanic. He erected all the needed buildings at St. Gertrude with native workmen directed by himself.

Their construction, though simple, was a long advance on the brush huts which had sufficed for churches and houses of the pioneer priests. European tools were very scarce yet in California, and the native architect supplied

their place as best he could. Forked tree trunks were sought for to serve as corner posts. They were trimmed, planted solidly in the ground and crossed with poles resting in the forks and lashed to them with strips of rawhide. The rafters were bound to the poles and to one another with the same kind of thongs and the roofs thatched with reeds. The walls were built around and between the corner posts of rough stone laid in earth and smoothed inside. Nails and even saws were hardly used as both were hard to procure in California at the time. The timbers were cut and trimmed with the axe alone. With all their rudeness the buildings of the native architect excited admiration among the surrounding rancherias. Their people readily helped in the work and in bringing supplies from the other missions to Santa Gertrudis. A road was built to San Ignacio a distance of eighty miles by the natives alone. All the old missions contributed what they could to the new foundation. Cattle, sheep and goats were driven from two or three hundred miles and mule loads of jerked beef, corn and meal sent the same distances. The latter were faithfully stored in the magazine to wait the coming of the missionary.

In addition to his duties as overseer the blind Indian gave Sunday instructions in religion to his helpers. Many in the district had been baptized by Father Consag during his former explorations or at the San Ignacio Mission and when Retz arrived he was welcomed by a congregation of five hundred Christians. It was very different from Ugarte's first experience at San Xavier, but there was still ample field for work among the gentile population around. They came in bands to ask for instruction and they had to be fed while receiving it. The supplies sent from other missions were soon consumed and Father Retz was confronted with the problem how to replace them. The land adjoining the mission would yield no crops but he was fortunate enough to find a small stream some miles away, the banks of which offered better pros-

pects. He set about utilizing his discovery with German thrift and perseverance. The small patch of soil was enlarged by terracing and the levels adjusted so that the water used should be carried by seepage from one field to another until every drop of the scanty supply was utilized. The little stream was diverted into a channel cut with much labor in the solid rock that none might be lost. The methods of Belgian farming were introduced by Retz to make the most of the ground. Wheat was sown in October and harvested in May. The ground was then cleared and planted with a second crop of corn which ripened by September. The rotation of crops was a new feature in Californian agriculture.

Retz further brought from Mexico several vegetables which needed no irrigation and acclimated those that could not be watered. Fruit trees and a vineyard were cultivated in other places and cattle and sheep found food on the native plants and scanty grasses. Though at first the location had appeared a desert it was changed in a few years to an oasis. Its harvests, cattle and orchards gave greater yield than any of the old missions. The progress of conversion among the gentiles was rapid. It seemed as if the long delay in the arrival of a missionary had excited their minds for the new doctrines. The converts showed, also, much readiness to settle in communities and give up their wandering habits. Santa Gertrudis in a few years surpassed every mission of California in population and it supported them all. The number of Christians was over fourteen hundred. The blind Indian teacher remained as assistant to Father Retz and was credited by him with a large share in the success of the mission.

The growth of the vineyard at Santa Gertrudis gave a curious illustration of the resourcefulness of its German director. When the first grapes ripened there were no vessels to store the wine and no wood available to make casks of any kind. Retz had cisterns cut in the hardest rocks and covered them with slabs cemented with clay.

The wine was made and stored in these tanks and the mission vintage soon became famous through California.

The prosperity of the new establishment stimulated Consag in the search for other sites to carry forward the chain of missions towards San Diego. He and Retz repeatedly plunged into the desert and explored it in every direction for water and arable land. They made journeys of two or three hundred miles frequently, on which they risked to perish of thirst. Endless wastes of sand or mountains covered with prickly cactus were traversed without result by the two Jesuits. A spring of alkaline water two hundred miles away was noted as an important discovery the year after the mission was founded but it was too distant to attempt a settlement without some intermediate station. Five years passed before another water supply was discovered. It was only a hot sulphur spring and ninety miles from Santa Gertrudis at a place known as Adac to the natives. In spite of the bad quality of the water Father Consag was about to begin a settlement at it when death came to end his career. It was not founded until three years afterwards.

Consag was a veteran missionary though he was only fifty-six at his death. He had come to the peninsula in the year of the Pericu outbreak and been actively employed during the intervening twenty-seven years, most of which were spent at San Ignacio, the frontier mission. The last companion of Salvatierra, the lay brother Mugazabal, died two years after Consag. He had come to California in 1704 as a soldier and after sixteen years' service had joined the society as a lay brother when Ugarte was superior. He was the last link between the pioneers and the living missionaries at the time, being the contemporary of the founders of Loretto and Santa Gertrudis. He was the only lay brother in California during his life, and had but one predecessor and one successor in that class.

While the Californian Jesuits were slowly pushing their missions into the desert, events in another part of America

came to menace the very existence of the body to which they belonged. The Reductions of Paraguay had for over a century been regarded through Europe as a model of successful civilization of savages by the Jesuit methods. The suppression of a large section of them was suddenly sought by the government of a Catholic state on grounds of commercial interests. Two years before the foundation of Santa Gertrudis, Carvalho, the foreign minister of the Portuguese king, negotiated a treaty with Spain to exchange the settlement of Sacramento, on the La Plata, for the territory on the east of the Uruguay occupied by seven Jesuit missions and peopled by thirty thousand Christian Indians. Carvalho had been led to believe there were fabulously rich gold mines in these reductions and expected to realize immense wealth from their exploitation. To carry it out better he ordered the native population to leave their homes and transplant to the territory still under Spanish rule. They refused and a war followed in 1755 by which they were driven out with great loss of life. The Portuguese minister attributed the resistance to their Jesuit teachers and revenged himself by addressing complaints to the Holy See against the order which he charged with having forgotten its original purpose and employed itself in accumulating wealth under pretext of missions. It was nearly the same charge that the pearl fishers of the Gulf had formerly made against Salvatierra and Ugarte, but Carvalho's power and recklessness made his enmity a danger of far greater magnitude.

Carvalho had obtained complete control over the weak and dissipated King Joseph of Portugal. He was absolute head of the Portuguese monarchy and he used his power to assail the character of the Jesuit order at all the Catholic courts and even at Rome. The Portuguese ministry issued a circular charging the Jesuits with founding an Indian kingdom in Paraguay under the rule of one of their body, and coins were struck by Carvalho's order and

sent as proofs of this charge. The Spanish Government declared the accusation without a shadow of foundation and it was generally ridiculed in Europe, but the minister continued his hostility. The Jesuits were expelled from their missions in Brazil, which were nearly as large as those of Paraguay. They were also cut off from all communication with the king and finally forbidden to exercise any religious functions even in Portugal. Carvalho demanded of the Holy See a commission to examine his charges against the order which was granted by Benedict XIV. on his death bed. The minister used the naming of the commission as warrant for his further proceedings against the order to which he had taken so bitter an enmity. He even threatened to cut off all communication between Portugal and the Holy See if the latter opposed his projects. The condition of affairs in Portugal at the time recalled the first steps to schism of the English Henry VIII. The eighteenth century was an age of centralization and absolutism in government above any that had preceded it in modern Europe. The power of a minister then was greater than that of monarchs like Charles V. or Francis I. In Portugal Carvalho's hostility menaced total destruction to the Jesuits. In France and Spain the ministers were scarcely less hostile and the signs of a coming storm against the order were everywhere.

It was under these conditions that its members on the shore of the Pacific founded their last mission in California. Volunteers for the Californian mission came as freely as before. The Bohemian Father Link took the place of Consag as an explorer of the deserts. Ventura, the procurator at Loretto, imitated Ugarte's example as a ship builder. The vessels belonging to California were unseaworthy and experience had shown the little capacity of the Mexican ship builders. The Jesuit superior engaged a Filipino carpenter and built two vessels of considerable size at Loretto. The timber was drawn from the forest which had furnished materials to Ugarte forty

years earlier and which was the only one existing in the peninsula. The labor was cheerfully done by native Californians and the vessels constructed were admitted to be superior to any built in the Mexican Pacific ports.

The mission projected by Father Consag at Adac was begun in 1762. Funds for it had been supplied five years earlier by a bequest of the Duchess of Gandia, a descendant of St. Francis Borgia, after whom the new establishment was named. The site was as destitute of natural advantages as Santa Gertrudis. A permanent spring and some level ground were the only qualifications it could boast of over the desert around. It was ninety miles from the last mission and the only other site known was at Calagnajuet ninety miles farther. Beyond, the desert stretched to an unknown distance without water or pathway. It needed dauntless confidence in Providence to begin a mission in such a place, but it was only on such conditions that the desert could be bridged and the northern lands, told of by Viscaino, be reached.

Father Link came from Sonora to take charge of the new post. He remained some months at Santa Gertrudis to learn the language, while Father Retz erected the necessary buildings and built the road to Adac with the help of his converts. He also built a road to the coast where a small haven offered shelter for the vessel from Loretto. He had already won some hundreds of the natives around Adac to Christianity and with them, as the nucleus of a congregation, Link settled himself to his work in the desert.

It prospered beyond expectations. The Indian population around was fairly numerous and came readily to be instructed and baptized. Within four years St. Francis was the largest settlement in the peninsula and its census showed fifteen hundred Christian Indians. The country, indeed, was weird in aspect beyond any other district of California. Trees and even grass were absent, but strange forms of desert vegetation, palms and cacti, useless alike

for fruit or timber, abounded. The cattle introduced died or pined away for want of feed but small game of different kinds, hares, rabbits and squirrels found support in the bitter undergrowth and in turn furnished food to the Indian hunters. The supplies for mission uses had to be brought from remote settlements, as Santa Gertrudis was unable to support more than its own Indians. It was impracticable to bring them by the usual means of transport on mules or horses, so a vessel was assigned to the new mission which made regular trips from Loretto to its little port. Its management was given to an Indian from Sinaloa and the crew recruited from the natives of Adac. With this vessel and its Californian sailors Link made several explorations of the shores and islands of the Gulf.

There was no ground fit for cultivation near the mission but Father Link, when settled there, found a larger spring and land which could be irrigated a few miles away. He improved his discovery by building irrigation ditches and planting grain fields. One of the soldiers became agricultural instructor of the Indians and rotation of crops was practiced as at Santa Gertrudis. The crops in a few years were enough to feed the Indians through the whole year and a number of them built houses and formed a village near the farm. Another discovery followed. About twenty miles from the church a grassy plain of some extent was found sufficient to feed a thousand head of cattle. The older missions at once contributed to stock it. St. Francis became a genuine oasis in the desert. Fruit trees and vegetables were planted as well as corn. The first garden was ruined by a curious accident. One of the soldiers was ill and the missionary had to carry the viaticum to his hut. He told the Indians to strew the way with leaves as was customary on such occasions in the other missions. They went about the task willingly, but finding the growing plants of the new garden greener than the wild palm branches, they pulled them up for the purpose. The labor of Link was destroyed for over a year.

The natives around Adac were equally ready for conversion as those of Santa Gertrudis. Many came spontaneously to ask instruction and some after receiving baptism, went to teach their countrymen in distant rancherias. There was, however, some opposition from the medicine men there as elsewhere. One guama, after vainly threatening the converts with the wrath of his familiar spirits tried a novel plan. He built a fire near the church and started it one night unexpectedly. He cast different clays into the blaze which gave them various colors of green, blue and red to the astonishment of the Indian lookers-on. The magician danced round the flames in fantastic dress uttering blood curdling yells. The timid among the converts were badly scared until Link went alone through the darkness and chased away the wizard by a few sharp lashes. The incident raised his fame among the natives like Ugarte's encounter with the wrestler at San Xavier. The medicine man, himself, came a few days later to confess his imposture and ask enrollment at the mission.

A more serious test of courage came soon afterwards. A distant rancheria declared war against all converts, killed some women and children and chased the Christians from their hunting grounds. Link organized an army as Luyando had before at San Ignacio. Two soldiers took command of the Christian warriors and they captured the whole village of the hostiles by a night attack. The prisoners were brought to the mission, given a dozen lashes each and locked up for some days. They sulked at first but finally begged for pardon and promised to keep the peace in future. Father Link let them go to their homes but in a few days they all returned and asked to be let join the mission.

Besides teaching and preaching, the exploration of the desert formed the special work of Link in this last epoch of the missions. He traversed it in every direction during the five years of his residence at Adac. His longest

expedition, made in 1766, was the most important yet made in the peninsula. Accompanied by ten soldiers and a large body of natives he traveled through the desolate region along the Pacific Coast to within fifty miles of San Diego and thence attempted to cross by land to the mouth of the Colorado. Though the steepness of the mountain ranges and the want of water prevented this journey, enough was learned by the expedition to show that the northern line of the desert was very near. At Guiricata, two hundred miles from Adac, a running stream of some size and the first pine woods yet seen by any Californian explorer indicated that the fertile lands told of by Viscaino were not far off. The population was more numerous than any yet found and it showed more intelligence and courage than the tribes of the peninsula. In one place a body of warriors boldly faced the strangers and demanded the meaning of their coming. They were easily pacified by Father Link's explanations and brought game and wild fruit in token of good will. The first huts yet seen among the Californians in their native state were also found on this expedition. Guiricata was marked for a mission site but, owing to its distance, he recommended that one should first be founded at a point near the Gulf known as Calagnajuet. A well of warm water existed there and it was nearly midway between Adac and Guiricata. In other respects it offered less advantages than any district yet selected for a mission. It was decided, however, to utilize it, in the hope that further exploration might reveal further resources as had happened at Adac.

An establishment was founded there the same year on a larger scale than usual. Two priests, Arnes and Diez, were appointed to take charge and in view of its remoteness and the neighborhood of Indians of new tribes, fifteen soldiers accompanied them. About fifty of the surrounding population had been baptized at Adac and formed the nucleus of the new settlement. One of them was named governor and showed in that capacity an intelligence and

energy unusual among his countrymen. A rancheria of gentiles attacked some Christian Indians without cause. The governor, without further instructions, took half a dozen of his people, marched directly to the hostile tribe, and captured all its members, twenty-three in number, without a blow.

It was a new display of character in a Californian native and indicated a growing development of intelligence in the race like the blind teacher from Mulege. Father Arnes kept the prisoners a few days at the mission, made them promise good behavior in the future, and then released them as Luyando had done on a former occasion. The result was the same. The whole party returned in a few days and enrolled themselves among the Christians whom they had lately tried to massacre.

There were no further hostilities at Calagnajuet but the ground was too barren to support any large population. The water was alkaline and ruined the health of several soldiers and of Father Diez, though it had no effect on the stomachs of the natives. Diez, after a few months, broke down completely and had to retire to Loretto. A small spring of fresh water was found a mile and a half away and by carrying drinking water from it Arnes and the remaining guards were able to remain. The cattle seemed to waste away as well as the men from the unhealthy water. A field of wheat was planted but when the missionary turned the water of the spring over the ground it left a white saline deposit like snow and withered the growing shoots. The site was evidently untenable. A prolonged exploration found a more promising one fifty miles away and twelve miles from the Gulf shore. It had a supply of good water, a small grove of trees, and some fair land. The converts already enrolled expressed willingness to make the change of abode and Arnes moved with them to it in 1767. He planted a couple of fields and raised a few buildings but had not time that year to build the church. Santa Maria, the name given to the new foun-

dation, was the last of the Jesuit missions. Even while Arnes was leading his converts there a decree had gone forth for the expulsion of every Jesuit from America without accusation or trial.

Between the foundation of Santa Gertrudis and that of San Francisco Borgia a curious agitation was started among the natives at one of the southern missions. One of the former soldiers had found a vein of silver ore near La Paz and brought over some Mexican peons from Sinaloa to work it. It was near the mission of Santiago in which the Pericu tribe had been concentrated after the epidemic of 1748. The Pericus retained much of the fickleness of temper and restlessness which had always marked them among other Californians. The miners were but poorly supplied with provisions and many of them had to ask them from the mission stores. This brought about intimacy between them and the mission Indians, and the latter listened attentively to the accounts of life in Mexico as told by the peons. A number of them determined that a change in their own condition would be desirable and after several meetings their leaders drew up a program of reforms which they presented to the missionary and requested him to forward to the Superior at Loretto. They informed him that in Mexico the Christian Indians owned their farms and managed them at discretion, and were free to travel where they pleased without any duties towards church or state beyond Easter communion, and paying a poll tax. To have themselves put in like happy conditions was the object of their agitation.

They suggested, in their memorial, that the obligation of community work should be abolished as well as the rule which forbade wandering outside their mission district. It was further desired that the cultivated land should be divided into individual holdings and each man allowed to work his farm and sell his produce as he saw fit. The school children, the aged and the sick were still to be supported by the missionary after the allotment in

severalty of the mission lands. He was also asked to keep a sufficient stock of mules to carry the emancipated cultivators and their produce wherever they desired. The other missions were also asked to give all travelers the same free hospitality as was given to those furnished with passes by their own missionaries.

It was added that the supply boat belonging to the mission should be given them whenever any number able to man it wished to visit Loretto or Mexico. Free farms, free transportation, free support for all who needed it and freedom from work or settled abodes was the program of the Pericu reformers. A final request was made that in view of the scarcity of women in the population the missionary should procure wives from Mexico for all the unmarried Pericu men.

The modest demands had to be refused. The mission lands would be worthless without irrigation and irrigation needed common work. It was suggested that any Indian who wished a farm might take it anywhere within the district and would be helped to work it, but this proposition met no favor with the reformers. It involved the necessity of work and fixed habitation, both of which were their chief grievances. The freedom of travel asked for was, in fact, permission to resume the old wandering savage life from which their fathers had been drawn with such difficulty. It was even more, for in their savage state every Californian clan had been confined by custom to its own hunting grounds. The mission districts laid out by the Jesuits were in accordance with the native habits. The desire of the Pericu malcontents to disregard them came from a mixture of their old restlessness with ideas borrowed from the Mexican miners. The life of tramps, living on the stores of the mission, appeared to them the ideal of civilization.

The matrimonial portion of the native demands was referred by the missionary of Santiago to the priests in charge of the Sonora missions. Many of the young Cali-

fornians from Loretto and Mulege had married wives from Sonora, and it was this which had suggested the demand of the Pericu agitators. The Sonora Indians declined to furnish them with brides. Some even suggested that as a war was going on with the Seris, a peculiarly savage tribe, the soldiers might capture brides from them.

The discontented element among the Pericus declined to submit to the refusal of their demands. A party of them stole the mission schooner and sailed in to Ahome where they had to be supported for some months by the mission. They were then brought back to California on the Loretto provision vessel and sent home with no punishment beyond a lecture from the Superior of the Missions. It had so little effect that another party shortly after stole the schooner again and crossed to Matanchel where they ran it on the shore and scattered in various ways. One party went to Durango and were not afterwards heard of. The others made their way to Tepic where some died of want and three traveled as far as Guadalajara. One of the Judges of the Supreme Court there showed his animus against the Jesuits by gravely taking the complaints of the three tramps against their missionary, and sending it in legal form to the home government without communicating either with the Californian mission or even the Viceroy. The deputation was then left to shift for itself, which it did by begging its way to Tepic and its comrades there. The parish priest of Tepic supported the wanderers until they could be returned to their home on the mission schooner. In the meantime their offer to pay taxes and support a parish priest of their own, if released from the mission system, was formally transmitted to Europe by the Judge at Guadalajara.

His action was only one instance among many of a growing ill will towards the Jesuit missions among the Spanish officials of Charles III. The old stories of wealth gathered from the pearl fisheries of California were revived by Pombal's accusations of a like kind against the

Jesuits in South America. The heads of the Order in Mexico took a bold step to meet this flying charge. In 1766 the Provincial laid before the Viceroy a formal surrender of all the missions then existing and the property belonging to them. He only asked that his religious brethren employed in those missions should be allowed to pass out among the wild tribes and begin new missions among them where no profit could be expected beyond the conversion and civilization of the natives.

The Viceroy, the Marquis de Croix, a man of French birth and education, laid the surrender before his council and called the Judges of the Supreme Courts, or Audiences, to discuss it with the other ministers. The provincial governors and bishops were also called to send their opinions on the matter as one of the highest national importance. The number of missions affected was over a hundred, and the possible results of their secularization difficult to foresee. The opinions of the officials of the capital were divided on the question. All the bishops and most of the local governors strongly opposed acceptance of the surrender. The Viceroy gave no opinion of his own but contented himself with forwarding the proceedings of the Council to the Spanish Ministry. A royal Visitor General, Galvez, was at the time in Mexico carrying out sweeping changes in many branches of the government administration, and the silence of the Viceroy was ominous for the future of the Jesuit missions.

The priests in California were aware of the proposed surrender and that its acceptance might at any moment call them from the work of their lives. It was with full knowledge of this that Father Link made his exploration of the desert nearly up to San Diego and that Arnes began the transfer of his converts of St. Mary of the Angels to their new home after three years of fruitless toil at the site first chosen for his mission. It was in May, 1767, that he brought his Indians to Kada Kaaman and began his work among the Indians there. He planted his crops and

instructed his converts with the same zeal as his predecessors, and by the close of the year, had enrolled three hundred new converts. In the old missions work went on unchanged. The whole population south of San Ignacio was now Christian and dwelling in peace. Their teachers, alone, had cause to fear for their own future and they did not allow such considerations to interfere with their discharge of duty.

There was hardly any communication between California and Mexico during the year of Father Arnes' last foundation. Storms were more than usually violent in the Gulf and the mission vessels could not cross it for several months. In November two government vessels entered the port of San Bernabe and landed a full company of European soldiers and their captain, Portola. The Governor of California, Rivera, was in the neighborhood with a small party and he at once called on the newcomers. Portola, their commander, received him with much reserve and showed a commission directly from the King to himself as Governor. He called on Rivera to accept his authority and the latter did so at once. He was then ordered to unite his men with Portola's company and to lead the latter directly to Loretto.

It was only on the road there and when assured of Rivera's obedience that Portola told the nature of his own instructions. They had been given to him directly by the Viceroy and were to be carried out without the smallest change, and with the utmost possible haste. He was to reach Loretto and when there to arrest the Superior of the Missions and any members of the Order within reach, after which he was to call for Rivera's assistance to arrest all other Jesuits in the peninsula. If Rivera showed any reluctance to the task he and his men were to be at once disarmed and sent as prisoners to Mexico, after which Portola was to seize the remaining priests as quickly as possible. If any disturbance should follow among the Indian converts it was to be suppressed by armed force,

without mercy, as rebellion against the King. As soon as the priests were all secured they were to be sent in a body to San Blas as state prisoners. What their ultimate fate was to be or the motives of their arrest Portola knew nothing. He was simply sent as a soldier under military obedience to carry out the commands of the King.

With all his military respect for orders, Portola modified somewhat the harshness of his instructions in practice after some conversation with Rivera. He had been given to understand that an Indian revolt was expected by the Viceroy and when he found no danger of such an event, he declined to use any needless violence towards the priests. He made no arrests but on reaching Loretto simply sent for Father Ducrue, the Superior, and told him his instructions. The latter at once signified his submission and even promised to carry out the royal orders by his own co-operation. Three Jesuits with him gave like assurance. At Portola's request the Superior sent native messengers to every mission. He charged his brethren, under the law of religious obedience, to tell their congregations that they were to leave them by orders of the King, but that other missionaries would come to replace them soon. They were to urge their converts to receive these as their representatives and to make no disturbance or resistance. The Jesuits, themselves, were only to stay until Portola's military commissioners could reach each mission. They were then to make joint inventories of all property in their care and turn it over to the commissioner. That done each priest was to come at once to Loretto for exile. He might only bring his clothing, breviary and three other books as his own. One was to be theological, one of history and the third ascetic. Such was the wealth carried by the Jesuits from California after seventy years' work in its missions.

The orders of Father Ducrue were exactly obeyed by all his subordinates. The Indians were panic-stricken but made no resistance. As each soldier commissioner was

installed the Jesuit pastor took his road to Loretto. They were all gathered there in February, fifteen priests and a lay brother. Exactly the same number had left their bodies in California during the seventy years of mission work. They came from Kada Kaaman in the north and from Cape San Lucas in the south. Portola received the exiles with respect and wrote plainly to the Viceroy that the precautions he had ordered were needless. A letter from the King would have been enough to bring every Jesuit in California to Mexico without a soldier. The promptitude of the Jesuits in complying with the order of their superior was in curious contrast with the delays in the execution of the royal orders by the state officials. It had taken five months to convey the latter from Mexico to California. All the missionaries of the peninsula spread through a wild country over a thousand miles in length received their instructions from Loretto and complied with them by surrendering themselves there as voluntary prisoners within seven weeks. There were at the time fourteen missions extending from Santiago, near Cape San Lucas, to Santa Maria, near the mouth of the Colorado. The whole number founded by the Jesuits in Lower California was eighteen, but four had been united with others as visiting stations before this time. They were divided into three districts each of which was a community under its own rector. The Superior of Missions had the office of Visitor and was bound to inspection of every establishment during his three years' term of office. The General Visitor of the Mexican Missions also made another inspection every three years. Returns from each establishment were made yearly.

The departure of the teachers who, for three generations had guided the whole life of the Christian natives, was marked with demonstrations of keen sorrow on the part of their converts. They followed the exiles part of the way to Loretto with tears and prayers and many even accompanied them to the end of their journey. The men of

the mission guard were scarcely less affected and when the priests were going on shipboard all the old soldiers came to kiss the feet of each exile and receive his blessing. Portola and his soldiers treated them with sincere respect and could not assign any reason for their orders, but they obeyed them as a military duty. As soon as the last of the sixteen reached the port the whole body was at once conducted on board the government vessel which immediately put to sea for San Blas. The missionaries of California were the last members of the Jesuit order left in the Spanish possessions, but the royal orders were carried out with the same silent severity in their case as in that of the exiles who had left eight months before. As soon as San Blas was reached after a month's voyage, the sixteen were consigned to the commander of the troops. They were strictly kept from any communication with the outside world and at once mounted on horses and brought under an armed escort to Mexico. A change of escorts was the only delay given there; no rest was given even for a day further. The journey was resumed at full speed to Vera Cruz. There they were put on board a vessel waiting without even being allowed a change of clothing or linen beyond what they had carried from California. No ill will or disrespect was anywhere shown by the sailors or officers towards the prisoners, but the orders of the King were minute and merciless, and the severest penalties were threatened for the smallest failure in their execution. The Jesuits were not even allowed to land at Cadiz, but transferred to another vessel, which carried them to the Papal states and there landed them penniless, to ask food from the charity of strangers. It was a strange ending of the work begun by Salvatierra and Ugarte, but really no stranger than the deaths of Tamaral and Carranzo in the same work.

OLD MAP OF CALIFORNIAN MISSIONS IN 1766

from Clavigero

CHAPTER X

Charles III. and the Jesuits

The banishment of the missionaries of California was only part of a general proscription of the order to which they belonged throughout the dominions of Charles III. of Spain. More than six thousand men, from Provincials to lay brothers, many of them among the highest in Spain for personal character and abilities, were doomed to perpetual banishment without accusation or trial by the decree of a Catholic monarch. The circumstances of this proscription were as remarkable as their severity. The Order of Ignatius of Loyola, had enjoyed for two centuries high favor with the Catholic population of Spain and its rulers alike. The King who ordered the banishment of the missionaries of California had only five years before come forward as the defender of their Order against the reckless charges of Pombal, and had chosen one of its members as tutor to his son and heir. No change known to the world had since come over either the Order or its relations towards the King. The latter was pronounced in his devotion to the Catholic Faith, and his personal conduct was in accord with his religious professions. He suddenly launched a proscription against the body which he, as well as the majority of his subjects, had till then held in veneration. He gave it a name which indicated that it was not a legal judgment but a mysterious exercise of royal prerogative. It was not a royal decree but "a pragmatic sanction," a thing of high politics above the ordinary channels of justice. The term had been coined by the lawyers of the eighteenth century to describe constitutional changes made for vital necessity by the inherent power of the sovereign. Its most famous application was the change in the law of succession in the

Austrian dominions made by the father of Maria Teresa to prevent the disruption of his states. The King of Spain gave the same name to his decree for the expulsion of the Jesuits. His reasons for that decree he absolutely refused to make known. He told his subjects they were "kept in his royal heart," and would never be revealed.

The public facts connected with the measure were these: On the 29th of January, 1767, the king called a special meeting of the royal Council for matters of the highest importance. Spain, at the time, was at peace both at home and abroad and none could guess the object of his sudden Council. No hint of it was given in any form to the public. Its proceedings were marked with a secrecy never before attempted in cabinet discussions of the most private nature. None but the ministers invited were allowed to enter the councilroom. The usual confidential secretaries and clerks were excluded as well as attendants and servants. The ministers personally did the clerical work. The Prime Minister, D'Aranda, wrote out the decree during the following days and brought it for signature to Charles. Children were brought from distant places to do the necessary copying, the sheets being divided so that their purport could not be guessed by the copyists. The public only knew that some important measure was prepared. Sealed orders were sent out in March to all the Governors of provinces, alcaldes of towns and other officers through Spain, but not to be opened till the second of April. Like orders had been already sent to the authorities through the Spanish colonies with varying dates for opening so that knowledge of their contents could nowhere arrive before the royal mandate's execution elsewhere.

Conjecture was busy in Madrid over the mysterious decrees of the council. Charles III., after his first war with England, had adopted a radical policy of reorganization of the Spanish governmental methods. The army and navy had been increased and formed on French pat-

terns. The finances, police administration and government of the colonies were all undergoing changes from the old Spanish methods to those approved by French public opinion at the time. New Viceroys and Governors imbued with the new theories were sent to the more important colonies. A regular Spanish force was sent to Mexico for the first time in 1765 and at the same time a local militia was formed there from the creole population. The measures of Charles and his ministers were all directed to greater centralization in the administration and a stronger assertion of the authority of the monarch than had before been known in the Spanish dominions. Public opinion in Spain was divided on the merits of the new reforms. The king was personally popular and the disasters suffered in the war with England made patriotic Spaniards more ready than at other times to accept extensions of the central power for sake of national defence. Their feeling at the time was like that which made French men accept the absolutism of Richelieu as a substitute for the disorders of feudalism, and Englishmen in the sixteenth century bow to the despotism of the Tudors after the Wars of the Roses.

The object of the mysterious Council was revealed to Spain in dramatic form on the second of April following. The night previous every Jesuit house through Spain was surrounded by a cordon of soldiers and at daybreak special royal commissioners entered each and arrested every member of the order in the name of the King. They were not charged with any offence, the king's pleasure was the only motive given for the arrest. The commissioners were as ignorant of other cause as the prisoners. The papers of every member of the Order were seized and sealed as well as the accounts and property of the community. The arrested Jesuits were removed as quickly as possible from their abodes and sent under close escort to specified seaports. Vessels were waiting there under sealed orders, and as soon as each received the passengers

assigned to its commander, it sailed at once for Italy, and landed the prisoners in the States of the Church without notice to the authorities there or provision for the support of the expatriated subjects of Charles III.

The expulsion of the Spanish Jesuits, both in the number and position of those affected, and in the despotic power exercised by the sovereign, was the most remarkable proscription in European history. The number of Jesuits in the Spanish dominions was over six thousand, more than double the number of monks expelled from their homes by Henry VIII. in England. It was the first time in the history of any modern state that a sovereign had ventured to make his own will the absolute law over the liberty and property of his subjects. Charles III., in his orders to his officials on this occasion, used the language of a Turkish Sultan. Any disobedience or neglect in execution of the royal orders was declared treason against the state and the death penalty was threatened to any governor within whose jurisdiction a Jesuit should be found after the specified term of expulsion. The Catholic King claimed powers of attainder without trial like those of the English Parliaments under the Tudors.

The expulsion was carried out without resistance or disturbance. None of the prisoners offered any opposition to the arbitrary arrests and the public hardly realized what had taken place until the whole body had been removed from Spain. The circumstances of the times made the proscription more easy to carry out. The public mind in Spain was more than usually disposed to accept administrative measures as the highest law of the state under the influence of modern ideas of centralization. The Jesuits had already been objects of proscription in two adjoining Catholic countries, and the ultimate results of these proscriptions were a matter of doubt for most Spanish Catholics, as the question of the divorce of Henry VIII. was in its time for English Catholics. The unscrupulous

energy of the court in each case had a power that would not have been conceded in ordinary times.

As soon as the proscription had been carried out a royal proclamation was published in explanation. It was as mysterious in character as the rest of the proceedings, and marked with like claims of absolute authority for the King over his subjects. The proclamation recited the action already taken in seizing the colleges and deporting the Jesuits. The only justification alleged was "grave reasons of state known to the monarch, but which he could not divulge to any." It added that they would never be divulged, and forbade, under the penalties of treason, any public discussion of the justice of the decree of exile, or any defence of, or attack on, the character of the Jesuits by subjects of Spain. It would be hard for despotism to go further.

The proscription extended to all the Spanish colonies though its execution there had to be carried out at a later date and with more varied circumstances than in Europe. Dispatches had been sent to America and the Philippines several weeks before the blow was struck in Spain, so that no news of the latter could reach the colonies before the seizure of the Jesuits there. Maps of the whole Spanish territory were carefully studied by the ministers of Charles at the council in January and dates fixed for opening the sealed dispatches sent to the colonial governors so that they should be opened as nearly as possible at the same time everywhere through the larger colonies. This, of course, in the existing conditions of communications, could not be done with the same precision as in Spain. The distance of California from Mexico was as great as from the latter to Cadiz and if delay was made until every remote district could be reached, many of the colonies would be aware of what had occurred in Spain. The general rule of secrecy, of sudden administrative action, and immediate deportation of the Jesuits was, however, adhered to through Spanish America nearly as in Europe.

The ministers of Charles either felt or affected to feel danger of armed resistance to their decree among the Indian converts of the Jesuits. It was shown in the instructions given to Portola in Lower California.

The execution of the decree in New Spain was entrusted to Don Jose Galvez. He was himself a member of the Spanish home ministry and shared, to some extent, the hostile feelings of its chief towards the order of St. Ignatius. Galvez was a new man in politics and had risen from an humble position by his energy and devotion to the policy of the ministers. He was sent to Mexico as Visitor General, an office higher even than the Viceroy's, in 1765, and Aranda entrusted him with the measures to be taken and left the details of their execution largely to his judgment. The King also sent an autograph letter to the Viceroy, the Marquis de la Croix, ordering implicit obedience on his part to the royal orders as interpreted by Galvez. The measures taken in New Spain were copied on these in the Spanish Peninsula though their execution was nearly three months later. The 25th of June was the day fixed for opening the sealed orders by the Mexican provincial governors. In the capital on the morning of that day all the Jesuit houses were surrounded by soldiers of the European regiments lately arrived. The order of arrest was first read to the Provincial at the Professed House as he was about to say mass. He signified his submission and only asked leave to celebrate it for the community before their departure from Mexico forever. The request was granted. At the communion the Superior asked if any desired to receive it at his hands and the entire community did so with perfect calmness. The impression made on the soldiers was very great and even Galvez was affected. He showed a desire to lessen as far as possible the hardships imposed on the exiles and allowed three days for preparation before they had to leave the city. He further allowed them to stop and pay their devotions at the Church of Guadalupe the famed national shrine of

Mexico, which none of them could hope to see again. These delays gave an opportunity for public knowledge of the proscriptive decree before the exiles' departure. In consequence demonstrations of public sympathy were made at all the towns along the road to Vera Cruz. At Jalapa the whole population came in a body to ask the benediction of the prisoners. So marked was the sympathy that Galvez thought it necessary to publish a proclamation of his own recalling Mexicans to a remembrance of their duty towards the King in arrogant terms. He made no remarks against the Jesuits or justification of their punishment but threatened extreme penalties against any discussion of the royal commands. He told the Mexicans that "they were born to obey the King," a remark which excited considerable public resentment.

The Jesuits from the capital were hurried to Vera Cruz and kept in its citadel until their brethren could be collected from the distant missions. Those in California were left out of the reckoning on account of their distance. By October all the other Jesuits of New Spain to the number of over four hundred were gathered in the Castle of Vera Cruz.

The hardships of the sudden journey, and the deadly climate of the port, caused the deaths of thirty-five at their first place of detention. The survivors were transported to Havana, where the humanity of the Captain General, Bucareli, allowed them a delay of four weeks in the hospitals and convents. Nine more died in this period. The others, without any exception, were then shipped across the Atlantic in crowded transports. The voyage consumed no less than four months, but when Cadiz was reached, the hostility of the Ministry would not even permit the prisoners to land on Spanish soil. Some foreign vessels were chartered in the port and the Jesuits transferred to them from the Mexican vessels, without allowing them any communication with the shore. The Spanish authorities were uncertain where to send the prisoners,

thus denied even a prison in their own land. The Papal Government protested against casting Spanish subjects on its territory, as its resources were exhausted by supporting those already transported there. The Government of Charles III. could not impose the reception of its prisoners on any other state, but finally, by consent of Choiseuil, a place of exile was conceded within the French dominions in a half-civilized and newly conquered province. The remote island of Corsica, where the armies of Louis XV. had just crushed the native government established by Paoli, was then chosen as the abode of the proscribed Jesuits from America. They were put on shore without ceremony and each handed an official letter from the minister of Spain. It promised a yearly allowance of a hundred dollars for each Spanish subject, coupled with the conditions that none should return to America under any pretext, that none should correspond with any Spanish subject, including their relatives, and that none should criticise the decree which doomed them to banishment without charge or trial. By a refinement of despotism it was added that the allowance for support would be withdrawn from all if any member of the Order should write in its vindication against the action of the Spanish monarch.

The absence of intelligible motive for the sudden and bitter hatred developed by Charles for the Order of Ignatius is hardly less remarkable than the extent of his proscription. He sent Franciscan missionaries to carry on the work in California from which the Jesuits were torn by his decree. It was not then any feeling of dislike to religion or the authority of the church that influenced him. He had only a few years before vindicated the Jesuits from the charges of conspiracy brought forward by Pombal in Portugal. The influences which excited special hostility towards the order in France, Jansenism, the new Voltairian philosophy and the legal traditions of the French parliaments, had scarcely existence among the Spanish

people and were repudiated by Charles himself. The doctrines of the French encyclopedists might explain the ill will of the Spanish ministers but not that of the King, and the King's personal feelings were specially conspicuous in the proceedings against the Jesuits.

There is some analogy at first sight between the attitude of Charles towards the Jesuits and that of Henry VIII. towards the English monasteries. Both kings before becoming persecutors had been conspicuous for devotion to religion and good will towards the bodies they afterwards proscribed. The attitude taken by Charles towards Pombal's attack on the Jesuits was like Henry's towards Luther in his assault on the Holy See. Henry had received personally from the Pope the title "Defender of the Faith" and Charles was the "Most Catholic King." Each selected a particular body in the church's pale for particular hostility, and if the brutality of Henry was greater towards the Carthusians and Benedictine Abbots than the Spanish King's severities, the number of victims of the latter was far greater. The claims to absolute power, hitherto unknown in practice, of both monarchs had also close resemblance. The submission of the people of England to Henry's pretensions was more complete than the acquiescence of the Spanish population in those of Charles. The destruction of the monastic orders in England was as complete, if slower, than the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and its colonies.

With this, however, the parallel between the two monarchs must end. Henry's attack on the monks was preceded by a quarrel with the Pope over his divorce and followed up by a definite separation of England from the Catholic Church authority. Charles to the end of his life continued to profess devotion to the Roman See. The seizure of the Jesuit colleges brought little or no gain to the treasury of Spain, while the spoils of the monasteries enriched Henry beyond all his other sources of revenue. The moral character, likewise, of Charles III. was far

above that of most contemporary sovereigns, while Henry's licentiousness was notorious. The Spanish King had apparently nothing to gain from his sudden attack on the Jesuits. His popularity was diminished by it, both in Spain and America. In Madrid the recurrence of his birthday the next year was marked by a popular outcry for the return of the Jesuits. In Mexico, according to Bustamente, their expulsion forever ended the former popularity of the monarch. Nothing could move Charles to abate his hostility towards the body from which only a few years before he had chosen Father Wendlingen as tutor to his eldest son. He was as obdurate to the requests of the Pope as to those of his people for mercy towards his victims or an explanation of his action.

Two expressions of the King alone seemed to furnish some clue to his hidden motive. In the decree of proscription of the Jesuits he announced his high regard for the other religious orders "who had merited his esteem and had not meddled in politics." When, later, in an appeal of Clement XIII. to himself, the Pontiff concluded by asking that the reasons for expelling the Jesuits should be regularly investigated and truth and justice allowed to act, Charles answered, "I shall ever keep secret in my own heart the infamous plot which has made this rigor necessary. I do so to spare the world a great scandal. Your Holiness must believe me on my word. The safety of my life requires from me a profound silence on this matter."

Whatever its cause the personal hatred to the Jesuits suddenly conceived by the Spanish King was a factor of the highest importance in the politics of the eighteenth century. It did not stop at their banishment from his own dominions, but found further expression in the pressure put a few years later on the Sovereign Pontiff for the suppression of the whole Jesuit order. On that occasion the representatives of the four Bourbon Courts united with the Portuguese to demand the abolition of the Order of

St. Ignatius as displeasing to the five crowned heads, but especially to the King of Spain. His ministers hinted at a possible separation of the church in Spain from obedience to the Pope if the King's personal wishes were not granted. One of them went so far as to remind the Pope that the refusal of one of his predecessors to sanction Henry VIII.'s petition for a divorce had caused the separation of England from the Catholic church and that a like refusal to meet the wishes of the Spanish Catholic King might entail a like result in Spain. The passion of Henry Tudor for Anne Boleyn was openly compared to the hatred of Charles for the Jesuits.

Its motives, indeed, were harder to guess. The King, himself, claimed that the royal authority was sufficient justification for any treatment of his own subjects, and that he had private reasons for his course. The documents prepared at the Council were kept in the strictest secrecy by his ministry. An explanation was given of the motives of Charles during his own life and not denied. It first appeared in 1780 in a periodical of high standing, the "Journal pour l' Histoire de la Literature et des Arts" (Vol. IX, 218), published in Germany. The writer, Christopher de Murr, gave as his authority the reigning Duke of Wurtemberg, who certainly had an opportunity to learn the facts from those connected with them. According to the Duke's account, Aranda, the Prime Minister, laid privately before the King a forged letter from the General of the Jesuits to the Superior of the Central Jesuit House in Madrid. It bore the Roman postmark and had other extrinsic marks of genuineness. In it the writer was made to declare that he had in his possession convincing proofs of the illegitimacy of the Spanish King and might publish them at a fitting time. Aranda claimed this letter had been taken from the private papers of the Jesuit Provincial by one of his trusted agents. The King accepted it as genuine and was driven almost to insanity by anger both at the insinuation against his family and the

dangers of a possible claimant to the throne. In the public opinion of Europe at the time, legitimate birth gave a paramount claim to the kingly office. Many of the highest legal authorities of France held that the lawful heir to a throne could not forfeit his right of succession by even acts of his own will. Philip V. had resigned his rights to the French crown on accepting that of Spain. The deaths of the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy brought him some years later into the direct heirship of Louis XV. Many leading French authorities publicly declared that in the event of the boy king's death the King of Spain would become the lawful King of France, despite his renunciation or the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht subsequently.

The statement credited to Ricci in the forged letter was one which could not be publicly examined or even discussed. Charles had to form his own opinion on the question whether the letter were really genuine in the privacy of his cabinet. Nearly all his ministers, De Roda, Campomanes, the Duke d'Alva, and Monino or Florida Blanca were hostile to the Jesuits and supported the views of Aranda. Charles accepted their opinion on the authenticity of the letter and set himself with remorseless energy to crush the Order of St. Ignatius. How he carried out his purpose is a matter of history.

It was added that the actual forgery was the suggestion and work of Choiseul, the minister of Louis XV. of France. He was then engaged in an attempt to expel the Jesuits from France with the help of the Supreme Court of Paris, and showed remarkable bitterness towards their body. They were not only disliked by the philosophic party, but also by the King's mistress, Madame de Pompadour, whose vanity had been offended by the refusal of a Jesuit Father, de Sacy, to act as her confessor, unless she withdrew from her notorious relations with the King. Choiseul's hostility was increased by the desire to keep the favor of the royal mistress. The Paris Court

had published a sentence of expulsion on extraordinary grounds, but the French King refused to confirm it in spite of the wishes of his ministers and mistress. It was of the greatest importance for Choiseul's interests to get the King of Spain to declare against the Jesuits at this time, but it is impossible to verify the charge against him of authorship of the forgery. At least one member of the cabinet of Charles was certainly capable of such a plot. The Duke of Alva some years later confessed that on the occasion of a riot in Madrid in 1766 he had sent agents among the mob to raise cries in favor of the Jesuits and had used their action to charge the Order with raising the disturbance itself. His insinuations were not at first accepted by Charles but they prepared his mind for the more formidable accusation of Aranda.

The motives of the hostility of the Spanish ministers to the Order can certainly be traced to the influence of French ideas at the time. No change had come over the religion of the Spanish people and no class had any dislike of the Jesuits outside a section of the politicians of the court. Among the latter Voltairian ideas of dislike to the Church were prevalent, though obnoxious to the general public sentiment. The courtiers and politicians of the different European states were rather cosmopolitan than national in their ideas and principles. The family union of the crowns of France, Spain and Naples had brought about this condition after the War of the Spanish Succession. It was developed further by the ascendancy given to French language and political ideas in the reign of Louis XIV. In the middle of the eighteenth century the class feeling among courtiers of the various European states was a stronger bond than nationality. Charles III. had been King of Naples before his accession to the Spanish throne. He brought Italian ministers with him to Madrid and he sent a French Viceroy to Mexico without hesitation. His Spanish ministers shaped their ideas and policy on French models as a matter of fashion as well as interest.

They caught the spirit of the encyclopedist philosophers in the same way as they tried to mould the old Spanish government methods to the "enlightened absolutism" which had been the ideal of French politicians under Louis XIV., and continued to be that of Continental Europe for two generations after that potentate's death. The "Family Compact" brought France, Spain and most of Italy under a uniform system of centralized absolute government in which kings of the Bourbon family were the nominal rulers, and a cosmopolitan class of politicians the administrators. The old ideas of representative local governments and established institutions were classed as relics of barbarism by the French philosophers. Their ideas were readily adopted by the politicians of Spain and Italy, and strenuous absolute government by the enlightened classes put forward as the ideal condition for mankind. This condition of affairs explains, in part, how the Spanish politicians threw themselves with so much violence into the expulsion of a Catholic body of priests without regard to public sentiment or national interests.

Forty-eight years after the deportation of the Spanish Jesuits a public inquiry was instituted by the grandson of Charles III., Ferdinand II., to discover the reasons for their exile. It was ordered in 1815, after Ferdinand's return from his captivity in France, and was in answer to numerous petitions of Spanish cities, asking for the return of the Order of St. Ignatius to Spain. The Attorney General in consequence had official search made for all documents relating to the expulsion in the archives, both of the Ministry of State and that of Justice. He could only find a single copy of the proceedings of the council of the 29th of January, and that without the portion relating either to the charges or the mode of investigating them by the Council. The only record left was that of the measures advised for carrying out the expulsion. The Spanish

Attorney General summed up all that the records told of the case against the Jesuits.

"Their crimes were known to their judges alone and those judges were determined to suppress all reasons for their sentence and forbade any statement on either side of the case. We cannot hold the Jesuits as condemned by Spain since those who judged them feared to take the evidence or opinions of either the Civil Magistrates of the Kingdom or its Bishops, much less any protests of citizens. These were only called to believe, to be silent and to obey, and that under pain of exile, confiscation and even death."

CHAPTER XI

Franciscans in the Peninsula

The feverish haste with which the royal orders required the deportation of the Jesuits to be carried out had a disastrous effect on the fate of the Californian natives. The orders themselves provided that Franciscan missionaries should at once be installed in the places of the banished teachers and that the system of administration established by them should not be changed otherwise. It had been found impossible to bring the new administrators to California as soon as the soldiers of Portola. The Governor did not venture to leave the Jesuits at their posts until the coming of their successors. They were shipped to San Blas as soon as the last reached Loretto and Portola detailed private soldiers of his company to take their places as administrators of the Indian communities. Their qualifications for such work may be easily understood when it is remembered that the whole company was newly arrived from Europe and its members had no acquaintance with either Mexican or Indian ways of life or the language of the latter. For some months the soldiers remained as the sole representatives of government in the peninsula.

Sixteen Franciscans returned on the vessel which carried the Jesuits away. They landed at Loretto on Good Friday of 1768 under charge of Junipero Serra. The charge of finding priests for California had been laid by royal orders on the Franciscan Missionary College of San Fernando in Mexico, and it had collected them hurriedly from various missions as well as from new arrivals from Europe. All the sixteen were of Spanish birth. The president, Father Serra, and the vice-president, Palou, were natives of the island of Mallorca in the Mediterranean and had been many years engaged in Indian missions

of the usual type in the Sierra Gorda of Mexico. Serra was small of stature and slightly lame, but a man of striking personality and energy. The newcomers stayed only five days at Loretto. They sang high mass of thanksgiving there in a body on Easter Sunday and the next two days, and then Serra divided the mission posts. He remained, himself, with a colleague at Loretto. The other fourteen started on foot to San Xavier where those for the northern missions parted from their companions. Each body walked to its destination, its members dropping off one by one as their posts were reached until the missionaries of Santa Maria, in the north, and of Cabo de San Lucas in the south, reached theirs alone. No guards accompanied the travelers on their long journey as none had their predecessors on their way to exile.

The soldier administrators had no inclination to give up the mission farms or flocks when the Franciscans arrived though they allowed them to take charge of the churches and occupy the houses of the former priests. Serra, as an experienced Indian administrator, asked Portola to carry out the royal orders and give him charge of the temporal as well as spiritual affairs of the missions, but the governor declined to make any change in the arrangements he had already made on his own authority. He referred the question to the Viceroy and the Franciscans had to begin their work without any right to direct the actions of the natives. They were merely given rations for their own support and even these not in their own houses but as guests of the soldier agents.

The Indians naturally regarded their new priests in a very different light from their old teachers. The soldiers ordered everything in connection with the farm work and other occupations and moreover they treated the natives as slaves. The irrigation and cultivation was left undone and the soldier managers wasted the community stores recklessly for their own wants or whims. In six months it was found that individual soldiers had slaughtered from

three to six hundred cattle in single missions. A year of such administration would leave the whole peninsula without food for its people. The Christian Indians grew disheartened and fled away to the mountains to find food in the old savage way or to die. The Franciscans reported everywhere the disappearance of the population gathered together by the Jesuits and the neglect of any effort to continue their civilizing work.

Portola's system was, fortunately, not of long duration. In July of the same year Don Jose Galvez, the highest official in Spanish America, landed in California. He fixed his residence at the mining camp of Santa Ana, near Cape San Lucas, and remained nearly a year. He heard the complaints of Serra and investigated the conduct of the soldier agents. The result was an imperative order to place the missions under Franciscan control with a sharp reprimand to "the rascals who merited to be sent to a different kind of strong place than Loretto." Galvez remitted further punishment of the soldiers in compliance with the request of the Franciscans. The latter thus returned for a time into the position of the Jesuit teachers as local administrators.

It was not easy, however, to undo the mischief of even a year's mismanagement, as well as that caused by the sudden banishment of the old trusted guides of the natives. The Franciscans were devoted and zealous but they had not the acquaintance with the nature of the Californians that their predecessors had and they did not gain a like influence among them. The number of converts who left the missions was considerable during the time of soldier rule and only a few returned.

Galvez, himself, although he restored the mission administration to its old form, and generally showed himself well disposed towards the Franciscans, took many measures which resulted ill for the welfare of the natives. He was a type of the strenuous politician of the day and a man of great energy and some administrative skill, but

also of violent passions and despotic temper. He was of humble rank and had risen by ability from a subordinate post to be Minister of the Crown and Visitor General of New Spain. In the latter capacity his authority was superior even to the Viceroy's and in California he acted with absolute sway over every branch of the public service. He had already spent two years in Mexico where he had influence enough to have a Viceroy removed, while he remodelled the army and milita, as well as the customs and revenue system. His financial reforms were the most successful part of his work and they largely increased the revenues of the country during the next forty years. He tried to make the barren peninsula furnish means to carry out his projects there, but with less success. He founded a pueblo at the mining camp of Santa Ana and established an industrial school there, he opened salt works on Carmen Island, and undertook to make Loretto a large town by transporting Indian families to it from other parts of the peninsula. To carry out these projects Galvez freely used the capital of the Pious Fund which he had transferred to public administrators on the expulsion of the Jesuits. None of his plans met any permanent success and Santa Ana and the Carmen Island works were abandoned in a short time as unprofitable expenses.

Whatever the sentiments of the other ministers of Charles III. towards religion, Galvez showed no sign of hostility to the Church or religious Orders. The Mexican historian, Bustamente, states that he was much affected by the conduct of the Jesuits at the time of their banishment from Mexico, though he had before shown strong prejudice against their body. He certainly showed none towards the Franciscans in California. He treated Serra and Palou with kindly familiarity quite unlike his usual methods towards state officials. He asked Serra to place the voyage to Monterey under the protection of St. Joseph and to have Novenas to him offered in all the churches at its

sailing. His action was entirely that of an old school Spanish Catholic.

He also showed much interest in the Indian converts and a desire to promote their welfare. He gave funds for building new churches at San Jose del Cabo and another mission and sent supplies to others to compensate for the waste of the military agents. Besides the industrial school at Santa Ana Galvez founded another for natives at Loretto. He also gave a grant of nearly nine thousand dollars worth of cloth to be distributed among the natives before he left California and he sent trained physicians to find remedies for the epidemics and other diseases then prevalent.

Other reforms attempted by the Visitor were less well judged. He entered on them with all the self-confidence of inexperience and full conviction of his own superiority to the founders of the missions. In a proclamation issued only four months after his landing he criticised sharply the condition of the natives. "He had expected to find thriving towns and met only churches, with a few dwellings and farms around each. Many Indians, though well instructed as Christians, had no houses, and were living in barren districts without land fit for cultivation where they had to live on roots and berries. They had been withdrawn from the shores and were not given individual property in consequence of which they disliked farming and civilization." The latter charges were really unfounded or rested on old native habits beyond the control of the old teachers to eradicate. Galvez promised to remedy these evils by an enlightened despotism. The natives were to be gathered into single villages for each mission and taken away from those which could not furnish food and clothing of the European style.

There was no delay allowed in carrying out the wishes of the Visitor General. He suppressed the Guaicuri Missions at San Luis and Dolores and the inhabitants had to remove to the distant location of Todos Santos. It had

much better land, and its original population had been lessened by epidemics like that of Santiago. The natives of Todos Santos were ordered to concentrate with the Pericus at Santiago. Galvez seemed to pay no attention to the prevalence of sickness at the two missions in his eagerness to have the natives all settle on cultivatable lands. The old mission of San Luis was granted to a Spanish soldier and Dolores to three others. The Visitor finally secularized Santiago and placed a secular priest in charge. He gave as grounds for this step that the natives there all spoke Spanish.

The methodising spirit of Galvez was not confined to changes suggested by the qualities of lands. He thought it desirable to introduce a certain uniformity in the population of each mission and he tried to effect it by wholesale colonizations, regardless of native attachments to their native localities. The Indians of San Xavier were drafted off to various other districts where the population seemed too small. The new converts of Santa Maria and Santa Gertrudis were desired to move some hundred miles south to the districts of Cadegomo and Comondu. A conversation recorded by Palou illustrates the ideas of Galvez on his arrival at Loretto and some of the difficulties not foreseen by the strenuous reformer.

"He told me he would leave an order to bring Indians from the other missions to make up a hundred families at Loretto, besides the nineteen then there. They were to send twenty-five at once from San Xavier to work the farm, and he would allow them each a bushel and a half of corn from the royal magazine for the first year's rations. I asked how the newcomers were to be supported, as the Loretto Mission had little water and it seldom rained there. He answered that it owned the San Juan stock ranch and could get corn and cloths from the royal magazine by furnishing beef for the ships. The Indians could work anyhow, and he would order the magazine to pay any workmen it wanted seven dollars a month. They

could also fish and dive for pearls and find other ways to support themselves. He would order the storekeeper to give them a canoe for pearl fishing." Palou had to bow to the decision of the Visitor, though with grave doubts of its wisdom.

The changes only resulted in lessening the Indian population without any benefit to the survivors. The northern converts refused flatly to leave their abodes. The colony transferred from Todos Santos to Santiago died off in a year, and the San Xavier Indians sent to San Jose del Cabo met the same fate. At Todos Santos the Guaicuris, brought from the two suppressed missions, lost more than three hundred in an epidemic before the departure of Galvez. The survivors could not be got to live near the mission or cultivate the grounds. The Visitor went there in person to threaten the penalties of disobedience, but so little effect had his threats that some natives stole the provisions for his own dinner after his address to them. "They angered so much the same gentleman that the padres there had much ado to keep him from hanging some whom he sentenced, and he broke out that a race like that ought to be put to the sword altogether." It is Palou who thus tells the Visitor's experience as a reformer of Indian settlements.

The residence of Galvez in Lower California during nearly a year was not for sake of that country. The ministers of Charles III. had decided to carry out the projects of Kuehn and Salvatierra as part of the new colonial policy, and found mission settlements on the coasts visited by Vizcaino. The increase made recently in the naval forces of Spain made the project easier of accomplishment. Galvez came to the peninsula to organize there the occupation of San Diego and Monterey.

He showed both energy and administrative skill in preparing the expedition. He had founded a dockyard and naval station at San Blas before starting for California. It was the first establishment of the kind on the west coast

of Mexico, and Galvez carried his attention to details to such a length that he introduced hemp culture at the time of its foundation to provide cordage in the future. Three vessels were begun at the new shipyard before the Visitor General left for California. There he selected La Paz as a port of call and began the erection of storehouses and workshops immediately. His six months at Santa Ana were a period of constant activity. Indians were called from the missions as laborers and stevedores and the resources of the peninsula were taxed to collect stores for the expedition. The colony was to be a mission settlement and church furniture, altar linen and vestments for it were collected from the old missions of the peninsula, by orders of Galvez. The appearance of Russian and English vessels in the North Pacific had quickened the anxiety of the Spanish ministry to occupy ports there. The funds for all the works were drawn from the Pious Fund, by order of the Visitor General.

Galvez called the Franciscan superior to his residence at Santa Ana and consulted with him on the details of the expedition. Serra entered eagerly into his plans and offered to go himself in charge of the new mission. Galvez had decided to send expeditions, both by land and by sea, and Serra was to go with the former. He wrote to the College for more priests and his request was backed by another from the Visitor. The interest of the latter in the work was such that he often worked himself among the laborers and stevedores. Like his brother in Mexico, he kept a liking for the habits of his boyhood on his father's farm. He packed the vestments and church furniture for one of the proposed missions with his own hands. There was a challenge on this between himself and the Franciscan president, who packed for another. The Visitor claimed to have finished his task first.

Only two vessels reached La Paz, as the third was otherwise employed. Galvez had them both unloaded, examined and caulked under his own eyes. When all was

ready he asked special prayers from the Franciscans for the voyage and gave earnest advice to the officers and men to treat them with respect. The starting of the ships from La Paz was like that of Columbus from Pala. All the soldiers and sailors, as well as the Visitor, confessed and received communion together.

The first ship, the San Carlos, sailed from La Paz in January, 1769. She carried a company of twenty-five soldiers and a doctor and surveyor, with Father Parron. The second vessel, the San Antonio, followed in February. The third vessel was not in condition to take part in the expedition before Galvez left California. Serra had left La Paz before the sailing of the San Carlos, and after visiting every mission and bidding farewell to its priests, he joined Portola's party at the most northerly point on the fifth of May. They left it on the eleventh, and three days later stopped to leave Father Campa at Velicata to begin a mission. The place had been visited two years before by the Jesuit Father Link.

The condition of the peninsula continued to grow worse after the departure of the expedition for San Diego. Father Palou remained in charge of the missions with nine other Franciscans, but their efforts to improve the temporal condition of the Indians were baffled by the increasing mortality which followed the centralization methods of Galvez. The missions had been largely stripped of cattle and provisions by the Visitor's orders to provide for the expedition to Monterey. The sources of support which he had recommended were found to be impracticable. There were no funds to pay the Indian laborers at the Carmen salt works, and the military officer in charge of the mission magazine at Loretto would only furnish rations to the actual workers, leaving their families to be maintained by the missions from which the laborers had been drafted. The officer first named as Governor, after the departure of Portola, was so struck by the impossibility of carrying out the plans of Galvez

that he sent in his resignation. Father Palou asked Governor Armona to apply to Galvez for some needed changes in the administration of the missions. "He wrote to me," Palou added, "that he had not been able to mention the points I had given him to the honorable gentleman (Galvez) because one only needed to name California to drive him into a passion."

A violent epidemic broke out at Cape San Lucas immediately after the departure of Galvez. The astronomical commission which came to observe the transit of Venus at the time suffered as well as the Indians. The French Chief, Auteroche and his Spanish colleague, Medina, both died of the plague, which spread to Loretto. At Santiago the Indians who had been transferred there by order of Galvez were nearly all destroyed, and a like fate befell those sent from Todos Santos and the mountains of San Xavier to San Jose del Cabo. The Franciscan, Fray Juan Moran was stricken down at the latter place two months after Galvez left Loretto and died before his colleague could reach him. At Todos Santos, where the population of San Luis Gonzaga and Mission Dolores had been transplanted by the Visitor's orders, over three hundred persons died in a few weeks, and most of the others ran away to the mountains panic-stricken. The number remaining alive there in 1772 was only a hundred and seventy. The disease spread through all the missions south of Loretto. In San Jose de Comondu the parish records for three years showed two hundred and forty interments and less than a hundred baptisms; in Guadalupe a hundred and forty to fifty-three baptisms; in Mulege, a hundred and thirteen to forty-eight. A comparison of the census taken by the Jesuits in 1767 with that made by Father Palou five years later showed that in the older missions on which the system of Galvez had been tried, the Christian population had diminished from forty-four hundred to little over two thousand. In the three latest foundations, where the popula-

tion had not been affected by the policy of Galvez, the numbers had increased, and the latest mission of Velicata reckoned about three hundred converts.

The northern missions escaped the plague and their population increased slightly under the Franciscan administration. Palou wished to found two new establishments, as directed by the Viceroy, but the Governor objected on the grounds that he could not furnish guards for them. At Velicata matters went on much as in the old Jesuit days. Nearly four hundred savages were instructed and baptized there within three years, and about half that number at Santa Maria. In the other missions there were few new converts. The majority of the baptisms registered were children of Christian parents. The registers in eleven missions showed, within three years, nearly eight hundred marriages, seventeen hundred baptisms and twenty-one hundred and sixty burials. The next year locusts destroyed the crops, and the following no rain fell. The fate of the missions was indeed hard.

A memorial sent by Palou to Galvez after the latter had left the peninsula gives a picture of his troubles. It laid fourteen grievances before the Visitor and asked to have them removed. The first was that mission Indians, when employed by government officials, should receive the wages promised by Galvez of seven dollars a month. It had been refused by the storekeeper at Loretto. The second, that the mission of Loretto should not be obliged to supply the military with meat at a price too small to pay the vaqueros needed to kill the cattle. The third that the mission furniture and tools should be surrendered by the storekeeper, who claimed them as public property. The next three asked for payment for brandy taken from San Xavier Mission, for an examination of accounts and for permission for the mission administration to purchase supplies from Mexico and sell the mission products to purchasers there to provide for their Indians. The military storekeeper had forbidden both and refused to

check accounts, and, as he was the highest official in the peninsula, his word was law there. The next requests, besides one for payment of a sum promised by Galvez himself, were that the storekeeper be forbidden to take the cattle, and products of Loretto Mission at his own discretion, as he was doing. He had threatened to take what he pleased by force, and claimed that all property in the mssions was under his own control, in spite of the royal order giving it to the missionary administrators. The way in which the storekeeper's claims were urged in practice was illustrated by the requests that he should find a residence outside that of the priests, that he should not take the boats of the natives for his own use nor levy taxes on them against the general law. Finally Palou begged that a priest should be provided for the secularized mission of Santiago. The incumbent had left it in consequence of the epidemic, and the mission friars had to attend to his parish, though their number had been lessened on its secularization. The petition of Palou is a graphic picture of the dealings of the average petty officer with the missions. As all its requests were granted by Galvez, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the facts.

The orders of Galvez had little efficacy after his departure from Mexico. The failure of his attempted reforms there discouraged the Viceroy, and the peninsula was left practically to be managed by the officer in command there at will. It was hard even to find an officer to accept the distant service, and in 1771 a sergeant-major, Barri, was named Governor of the whole peninsula. The Viceroy at the same time asked the San Fernando College to send twenty more priests to Palou's assistance, and to found five new missions between Velicata and San Diego. The last request showed curious ignorance of the nature of the country on the part of the Mexican officials. There was neither water nor population in the territory pointed out.

The college, however, sent the twenty priests asked for.

They were shipwrecked on their first attempted passage of the Gulf, but most of them finally reached Loretto at the end of the year 1771. They found no chance to exercise their ministry to any profit after all the long journey. Sergeant Barri shortly after his coming picked a quarrel with the mission President over the old question of control of the natives. The sergeant took a dislike to the manager at Todos Santos Mission, and desired his discharge. Father Palou refused, as the man had been guilty of no offence. The Governor grew angry and asserted his own right to regulate everything in the peninsula, including the missions. He encouraged complaints among the Indians, and forbade the priests to keep any at work against their will. He lost no chance of showing his dislike to the priests before the natives, and denying their claims to manage the missions. He went so far as to charge them with plundering the churches for the benefit of the missions of Upper California. He declined to hold any communication with Father Palou to discuss the points at issue, and refused to permit the missions ordered by the Viceroy. The arrogance and ill temper of Barri made it hopeless for the Franciscans to improve the existing missions or to found new ones.

Palou sent a report at this time to the college of San Fernando, which tells the result of the expulsion of the Jesuits and the official administration which followed. In San Jose del Cabo there were only fifty natives left, and the temporal management was in the hands of a government agent. Santiago, the Pericu settlement, had been secularized, and only seventy people remained there. In Todos Santos there were two hundred, though seven hundred had been transplanted there three years before in addition to the original population. San Xavier had two hundred and twelve, having been lessened by thirty-seven families sent elsewhere. The cattle had mostly run wild. There were seven hundred sheep, but many had died lately, and the vineyard had been nearly ruined by locusts. At

Loretto there were a hundred and seventy Indians, in Comondu over two hundred, at Cadegomo a hundred and eighty. A hundred and twenty had died in this last during three years. Guadalupe had shrunk in population in the time from two hundred and twenty to a hundred and forty, and Mulege from two hundred and fifty to a hundred and eighty. It was proposed to transfer its population to Magdalena Bay in the hope of finding means of support, which were wanting even to the small remaining population.

Father Luyando's mission of San Ignacio made a little better showing. It had five hundred and sixty Christians, all collected now into a single community by orders of Galvez. A loss by death of nearly three hundred in as many years, with only fifteen baptisms of children, suggests doubts of the wisdom of the Visitor's policy for the natives. The next establishment, St. Francis Borgia, had not been disturbed in its old formation. Its Indians were grouped in six settlements, under charge of Father Lasuen. It had nearly fifteen hundred Indians, and there were no heathens in the district. Father Lasuen had baptized twenty-five adults, and the baptisms of children were three hundred and eighty. The San Gertrudis Christians numbered over eleven hundred, and no gentiles were found there. There had been four hundred deaths and two hundred and fifty births during the Franciscan administration. The natives had been ordered to emigrate to the south by Galvez, but had refused to go, and threatened to run away if force was used. They lived in eight settlements. Santa Maria, the last Jesuit foundation, alone showed an increase. Two hundred gentiles and ninety children of Christians had been added to its numbers since the departure of Father Link. There were only a hundred and eight deaths, and the actual population was five hundred and twenty Christians, with many gentile rancherias around them.

The Christian population of California, according to the

census of Palou, had diminished over two thousand in three and a half years. The last numeration made by the Jesuits gave seventy-two hundred, the first by the Franciscans only fifty-one hundred. The Velicata Mission, in addition, had enrolled three hundred new converts, with only twelve deaths among them. The greater mortality among the missions affected by the reforms of the Visitor is noticeable.

Palou's report incidentally throws light on many points of mission life under the Jesuits and the resources they tried to develop to support the converts. At San Xavier there were only twenty acres of grain land, and it was all banked around with dry stone walls to save as much water as possible. At Guadalupe the lions had killed all the calves of the last year. At Santa Maria they had only a fanega and a half, or about five acres, sown with wheat, and the fruit trees had dried up. There was no church there when the Franciscans came. Cotton and sugar-cane were grown at Comondu, and the former in many other missions. Comondu had over two thousand sheep. The cattle were numerous at most missions, but nearly running wild. The lack of water prevented any herding of them together. Fruit trees were cultivated largely at most missions. Vines, olives, figs, pomegranates and guavas are often mentioned. At Cadegomo the yield of figs annually often reached nine arrobas, over twenty-five tons, but the year before it was only a third of that amount. The locusts were responsible for the diminution. The harvest of wheat and corn was entirely destroyed by the same pest. In another mission, after the destruction of the bean crop by the locusts, the Indians had planted and harvested a crop of wheat. At San Ignacio, after the population had been collected into a single body by official orders, the missionary was obliged to license them to go to the wilderness to seek food. The locusts came in August and destroyed all the growing corn without any way to stop them. A mention that the Indians were

slaughtering sheep at one mission indicates the results of Governor Barri's policy of giving protection to all indisposed to obey the friars. Another instance of official ill will is recorded at Mulege. Palou found a stream at Magdalena which might irrigate a considerable tract, but he could not make use of it for want of seed corn or means to buy it. There was plenty in the government storehouse at Loretto, but it would not be loaned without pay. Mulege had no cultivated ground and little cattle, but its people were good fishermen. Palou would like to change them to Magdalena or Purissima, but he "had always the fear that they might grow sick and die like those who had been transplanted to other missions by orders of the Visitor."

The mining settlement at Santa Ana, which that functionary had formed into a town, had fared like the native missions. A decree had come to send away all the Sonoran peons employed in the mines there as they did not pay working. Galvez had undertaken them at the public expense, like the Carmen salt works. The town might be considered as ended by the departure of the miners, Palou told Father Verger. State enterprises, under official management, do not seem to have yielded as much profit to the revenue as Galvez expected.

Finding it impossible either to keep the natives in the existing missions or to found those desired by his superiors, Palou sent one of his priests to Mexico with a suggestion that members of some other order should take charge of the peninsular establishments. Secular priests would not come, and the governor would not permit the Franciscans to work. After some discussion, the Guardian of San Fernando made an agreement with the Vicar General of the Dominicans for the transfer of the peninsular missions to the latter order. The arrangement was approved by the Viceroy, Bucareli. A line fifteen leagues south of San Diego was made the division between the Dominican

and Franciscan territories. It was the first official division of California into Upper and Lower.

The arrangement was ratified in April, 1772, when Ramos, Palou's messenger, reached Mexico. It was sent to Palou in June at Loretto. He was desired to send ten of the priests to Monterey and the others back to Mexico as soon as the Dominicans should come. It seemed a hard return for the toil of the new missioners, who had reached the peninsula only six months before, after traveling on foot from Vera Cruz to San Blas, and then suffering shipwreck on the gulf. They had left Spain eighteen months before, had made the long tropical voyage to Vera Cruz, climbed the mountain road to the capital, and then toiled on foot for four months across barrancas and through forests to Tepic as a preliminary to their first disastrous voyage. Now that they had reached the destination assigned them by the heads of their Order and the Viceroy, they were ordered to retrace the same road and await orders where to go.

It is characteristic that the tidings were received by the Franciscans with a Mass of thanksgiving and pealing of bells in Loretto. Three had already gone to San Diego to replace invalid companions of Serra. The others made no complaint. Palou received his instructions on the last day of August. He at once sent messengers to each of the thirteen missions, from Cabo San Lucas to Velicata, calling back the friars who had been just installed, and desiring the older pastors to make up their mission accounts that they might leave, too, as soon as their "successors and brothers" should arrive. Ten Dominicans came six weeks later and six Franciscans returned at once to Mexico. Five of them were of those who had been shipwrecked on the coast of Colima and tramped the shores of Sinaloa the year before. Two others followed in December. Father Palou and seven others were authorized to travel on to Upper California when the transfer should be completed. All the others

were then to make their way back to the College of San Fernando. The Dominican Vicar General, Iriarte, came himself to take charge of the Californian missions. He never reached them, however. The first ten of his brethren reached Loretto in safety, but the next voyage was worse than that of the last Franciscans. The vessel in which Iriarte sailed was wrecked on the voyage from San Blas. Four priests lost their lives, either in the wreck or through the hardships of their subsequent march by land to find transportation across the gulf. Iriarte was one of them and Fray Vincente Mora became Superior in his place. The survivors only reached Loretto six months after the first party. The missions were turned over to them as soon as possible. Father Palou insisted on a strict account being given of all mission property at the transfer under supervision of the government officials, and this took some time. The Governor showed his hostility to the Franciscans to the last. He insinuated charges of wasting the mission property, until the accounts proved the contrary, and afterwards he refused to allow Father Palou to take some cattle from the northern missions, which the Viceroy had ordered to be sent to San Diego. The last touch of rancor on the Governor's part was to order the officer at Velicata to prevent the departing Franciscans from taking some church vestments and furniture collected there for San Diego by the orders of Galvez. It needed new and imperative orders from the Viceroy and the delay of over a year before these articles were permitted to be removed from Velicata.

Fray Palou did not wait for the settlement of the Governor's embargo. He installed the Dominicans in their missions and passed on to San Diego with six Franciscans in August, 1773. The other Franciscans had already sailed for San Blas three months earlier. On the 19th of August Palou reached the line appointed by the Viceroy between Upper and Lower California. He there set up a cross on a rock with a suitable inscription, and he and

his companions "sang with extraordinary joy a festal Te Deum." The Franciscan mission in the peninsula was ended. It had lasted a little over five years. It was in Upper, not Lower, California that the important work of the Franciscans was done. Their connection with the peninsula was only a passage to their real field of action.

The subsequent history of Lower California offers little interest. The barren soil offered no inducement for colonization, and the pretensions of the military governors to control the mission management made a revival of the Jesuit methods for civilizing the natives impossible. Barri quarreled with the Dominicans as he had done with the Franciscans, and the missions were gradually abandoned by their inhabitants. The Indian population had dwindled to twenty-five hundred, according to the Mexican census of 1857, and the mission buildings and cultivation had all been abandoned.

As a province of Mexico the peninsula has no history that needs recording. Its main interest centers in the effort of the Jesuits to raise a race from very low savagery to Christian civilization by peaceful persuasion, and the success which attended it while the teachers were simply left alone by the state authorities. That the missions dwindled away under another system is but a repetition of what had occurred in most lands where civilized men came into contact with barbarian man.

NOTES TO VOLUME I

List of Jesuit and Franciscan Missions of Lower California.

FOUNDATION	NAME	POP. 1768	POP. 1772	FOUNDERS.
1697	Loretto	400	160	F. Salvatierra, S. J.
1699	San F. Xavier	485	212	F. J. Ugarte, S. J.
1699	San Juan de Londo	...	...	F. Piccolo, S. J.
1705	Malibat	...	...	P. Ugarte, S. J.
1705	Santa Rosalia (Mulege)	300	180	P. Bassaldua, S. J.
1708	San Jose de Comondu..	360	216	P. Mayorga, S. J.
1717	La Purissima Cadegomo	130	168	P. Tamaral, S. J.
1720	Todos Santos or La Paz	...	...	P. Bravo, S. J.
1720	San Luis Gonzaga.....	310	...	
1720	Guadalupe	530	140	P. Helen, S. J.
1721	Dolores	450	...	P. Guilen, S. J.
1721	Santiago	350	70	P. Napoli, S. J.
1728	San Ignacio	750	558	P. Luyando, S. J.
1730	San Jose del Cabo.....	...	50	P. Tamaral, S. J.
1733	Santa Rosa	90	170	P. Taravel, S. J.
1752	Santa Gertrudis	1,000	1,138	P. Retz, S. J.
1759	San Francisco Borgia..	1,500	1,479	P. Link, S. J.
1767	Santa Maria	300	523	P. Arnes, S. J.
		7,149	5,094	
1769	Velicata (Franciscan)..	...	368	P. Junipero Serra, O. S. F.

Of the eighteen original Jesuit foundations, four, Londo, Malibat, La Paz and San Juan del Cabo, were joined to other missions by the Jesuits during their administration. The reason was the small number of Indians that remained at these places. Galvez suppressed two more, Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga, on the grounds that the lands there were barren and their population would be better able to support itself in Santiago, where the original Pericus had nearly disappeared through epidemics. The Indians resisted the transfer, but over seven hundred were transplanted under military escort. They could not be got,

however, to settle in the new abode, and besides were attacked with epidemics like the former population. The population at Santiago, three years after the transfer, was a lesson of the dangers of well-intentioned despotism among semicivilized races on the part of men ignorant of their character and conditions of life.

The total given for the missions in 1768 is taken from Palou, though slightly above the number given by addition of the various missions. It may be accounted for by some remaining in the four old stations. The Franciscan Superior uses the two totals to illustrate the diminution of the population during the five years following the exile of the Jesuits, and his estimates bear the marks of accuracy, so they have been given, notwithstanding the variation between them and the reckoning of Clavigero for the Jesuit missions in 1768. The last was made hurriedly at the removal of the missionaries, and may have been revised later by the Franciscans. The decrease in the southern missions affected by the change of Galvez is noteworthy.

The Indian population in Lower California was given by the Mexican census at only twenty-five hundred in 1857. The mission settlements had nearly all been abandoned after the removal of the Dominicans.

Foundations in the Pious Fund

Palou gives the following statement of the amounts contributed to the above down to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768. An additional legacy of $20,000 was received by the Royal Commissioners before 1773, and one of nearly $300,000, left by Donna Josefa de Arguelles of Guadalajara in 1765, was subsequently aggregated to the fund. Palou omits the earliest foundation, which is given by Venegas as made by a confraternity in the College of St. Peter and St. Paul in Mexico. It is here included in the list of 1772. The date of each donation precedes the founder's name and the amount follows.

1697	Confraternity of St. Peter and St. Paul	1st Mission	$10,000
1698	Don Juan de Ocio	2d Mission	10,000
1699	Don Juan de Ocio	3d Mission	10,000
1700	Don N. Arteaga	4th Mission	10,000
1702	Different benefactors	5th Mission	7,000
1704	The Marquis of Villapuente	6th Mission	10,000
1709	The Marquis of Villapuente	7th Mission	10,000
1713	The Marquis of Villapuente	8th Mission	10,000
1718	Don Juan Velasco	9th Mission	10,000
1719	The Marquis of Villapuente	10th Mission	10,000
1727	Father J. M. Luyando, S. J.	11th Mission	10,000
1731	Donna Mana de la Peña	12th Mission	10,000
1746	The Marquis of Villapuente	13th Mission	10,000
1747	The Duchess of Gandia in Spain left by will to missions		62,000
	Total to banishment of Jesuits		$189,000

The funds were administered by a special procurator, while under control of the Jesuits, and kept separate from the colleges and other institutions of the society. They were applied solely to the propagation of the Faith in California and the countries to the north. As the priests in charge of missions drew nothing for their own use, a considerable surplus had been formed when the Jesuits were exiled. Salvatierra in 1706 had invested the amount then in hand in two haciendas in Mexico, known as Ibarra and Arroyo Sarco. Both increased in value during the next sixty years, and in 1772 the royal administrator, Mangino, estimated their yearly revenue, clear of expenses, at fifteen thousand one hundred dollars. There was, in addition, a sum of a hundred and twenty-six thousand six hundred dollars, loaned to various colleges at rates varying from three to five per cent. The returns from these investments made the revenue somewhat over twenty thousand dollars, according to Mangino's report to Bucareli in 1773. From this, at the time, nine thousand one hundred were paid to the Dominicans charged with the peninsular missions, and five thousand two hundred to the Franciscans in Upper California. The expenses of management were only a thousand dollars annually—six hundred for the director, three hundred for the cashier

and one hundred for his clerk. The expenses, of course, increased as the missions spread in the north, and early in the nineteenth century fifteen thousand and two hundred dollars was allowed the Franciscans.

In addition to the investments above named a sum of ninety-two thousand dollars was in the hands of the procurator in Mexico in 1767, with stores of various kinds, valued at over twenty-eight thousand. In the storehouses at Loretto there were further supplies to the value of eighty thousand dollars for use of the missions. The total of the mission funds taken in charge by Galvez thus reached an amount of six hundred and thirty thousand dollars. With the bequests subsequently aggregated, it reached nearly a million. When taken over by President Santa Anna in 1842 the value of the Pious Fund estates was estimated at one million seven hundred thousand dollars. They were shortly afterwards sold.

REPORT OF THE FISCAL, DON FRANCISCO GUTIERREZ DE HUERTA, TO THE COUNCIL OF CASTILLE, OCTOBER, 1815

The reasons which call on the Council to deliberate on the need, the expedience and the manner of restoring the Society of Jesus within this kingdom are the numerous petitions to that effect addressed to the King.

In consideration of these petitions, His Majesty, considering the deplorable state to which public education has been reduced in this kingdom, consents to restore in his dominions the Society of Jesus, which had been banished from it forever, in virtue of a measure extorted from his magnanimous and pious grandfather, Charles III. by surprise and most crafty and impious secret plots.

The attorney-general, having taken note of these petitions and royal orders, demanded the collection of all documents and papers relating to this subject which could be found in the private documents of the Council and in the archives of the Ministry of State and that of Grace and Justice.

Among the papers which were thus furnished we have only received a single copy of the most important—the proceedings of the Extraordinary Council of 29th of January, 1767; and this copy is so defective that the first part of the proceedings is missing. This should give the history of the procedure and explanation of the motives and legal considerations on which the justice and opportunities of the project of expulsion were defended.

The copy submitted to us begins in fact with these words: "In virtue of what has been stated, the Extraordinary Council passes to state its opinion on the mode of carrying out the exile of the Jesuits and the other consequent measures needed for its full accomplishment. For this end the Council declares it good that the royal decree should be framed in the shape of an economic measure (providencia economica) for the tranquility of the kingdom, without touching in any way on an examination of the institute or passing an opinion on the conduct or morals of the Jesuits.

"The Council further considers it very useful to notify the bishops, municipalities, ecclesiastical chapters and other assemblies and political bodies of the kingdom that His Majesty reserves to himself alone the knowledge of the weighty motives which have determined his royal will to take this just administrative measure in virtue of the economical and tutelary authority which belongs to him, as sovereign, for the good government and preservation of the state.

"Also that His Majesty should impose silence on this matter on his subjects, so that none shall write, publish or spread abroad any work relating to the banishment of the Jesuits, either for or against the measure, without special permission of the government. The ordinary censor of the press must be declared without authority in this matter, and everything relating to it must be wholly under the immediate authority and command of the president and ministers of this Extraordinary Council.

"The Council recommends that this measure shall only be communicated to Rome through the courier who goes to Naples first after the execution of the decree, and that it shall be signified to the Holy Father that it is wholly a question of public tranquility, and that consequently it is hoped His Holiness will approve this action as necessary and as having been only taken with the utmost circumspection and after most serious examination."

This report of the Council, composed of D'Aranda, Campomonez, Monino and de Roda as its principal members, is the only explanation of the proscription of the Jesuits which Charles III. has left as its justification to history.

Action of the Government of Charles III. towards the Pious Fund.

The report of Mangino to Bucareli showed that of the hundred and twenty thousand dollars seized in the treasury of the Pious Fund in 1767, nearly one hundred thousand, as well as the surplus revenues of the estates belonging to it, had been applied by direction of Galvez to purposes not connected with the intention of the donors. The cost of the dockyard at San Blas and the vessels for the settlement of Upper California were drawn from these donations for the propagation of the Faith by private individuals. Palou adds, without further comment, that the eighty thousand dollars' worth of mission property in Loretto was used by Governor Portola for pay of the Spanish soldiers of the royal army in California. It is not known whether these amounts were restored by the treasury at any subsequent time. It was a common practice for the Mexican authorities to borrow funds from private individuals to meet temporary deficiencies in the treasury, and the use of the Pious Fund resources by Galvez may have been of this nature. Whether such were the case, the documents given furnish no means of deciding.

INDEX

Acapulco, 18, 21, 61, 94, 122, 144
Agriculture, in missions, 105; at San Ignacio, 137; at Gertrudis, 164; at Calagnajuet, 172
Alarcon, discovers R. Colorado, 13
Alberoni, Minister of Philip V., 118, 131
Alva, Duke, Minister of Charles III., 193, 194
Alvarado, companion of Cortez, 16
Anian, mythical Strait, 25, 97
Apaches, 84, 85, 99, 116, 117
Aranda, Minister of Charles III., 192, 193, 194
Arnes, Jesuit missionary, 171, 172, 173, 176, 177
Audiencia, (Supreme Court) of Mexico, refuses aid to missions, 110; invites Bravo to advise it, 120; hostile to missions, 132; receives offer of surrender of missions, 176.
Bassaldua, Jesuit missionary, 107, 108, 111, 115
Barri, Governor of Lower California, 208; quarrels with Franciscans, 209, 214
Bay of Pines (Monterey), 17, 24
Bay of San Diego, discovery, 24.
Bay of San Francisco, 19
Betanzos, Dominican missionary, 63, 64
Boton, Pericu leader, 143, 144, 145, 151
Bravo, Jesuit lay brother, afterwards priest, 111, 120, 123, 124, 157
Buildings, in California missions, 137, 157, 162
Burgos, Laws of, for protection of natives, 43, 45; amended by Ximenes, 56
Cabrillo, Esteban, discoverer of Upper California, 14, 16, 17, 18
California, name, 13; visited by Cortez, 14; by Cabrillo, 16, 17; by Drake, 19; by Viscaino, 20-26; by Otondo, 29, 32; natives of peninsula, 70; settlement by Salvatierra, 90; expulsion of Jesuits, 178; Franciscans arrive, 197; Galvez lands, 199; Census, 210; Missions transferred to Dominicans, 212; division of Upper and Lower California, 213
Campa, Franciscan founder of Velicata Mission, 205
Cancer, Luis, early Dominican missionary, 47
Carmelites, in Lower California, 21, 22, 24
Carmen, island, 89; salt works attempted by Galvez, 200
Carranzo, Jesuit priest murdered by Pericus, 144, 145
Carvalho, (Pombal) Portuguese Minister, seizes mission lands, 166; assails Jesuit Order, 167
Cerros, island, 23
Charles V., Emperor, 16, 60; new laws against Indian slavery, 66
Charles II., King of Spain, 29
Charles III., of Spain, 175, 177; proscribes Jesuits, 182; general policy, 183; character, 191; motives, 192
Clavigero, Jesuit historian, 141, 157
Cochimis, Cailfornian tribe, 72, 79, 81, 117, 133, 157

Colonization, early failures in, 32 34
Colorado, River, 14, 98; explored by Ugarte, 131; by Consag, 162
Columbus, 36, 49
Consag, Jesuit missionary, 153, 158, 160, 161; Superior of missions, 162; death, 165
Copart, Jesuit companion of Kuehn, composes first California Catechism, 30, 31, 82
Cordova, Pedro de, first Inquisitor in America, 42, 43, 46, 64
Corsica, place of exile for Jesuits from Mexico, 189
Cortez, first Jesuit in California, 89
Cortez, Hernando, 13, 14, 61, 63
Cosmopolitan character, of Jesuit missions, 90, 117
Cotton, cultivated and worked in California, 157, 211
Council of Indies (Spanish Colonial Office), 26, 29, 38, 40
Council of Mexico, 33, 88, 120, 132, 176
Croix, Marquis de la, Viceroy of Mexico, 176, 187
Diez, Jesuit missionary, at Santa Maria, 171, 172
Dolores, mission, 127, 148, 201; lands granted to soldiers, 202
Dominicans, in W. Indies, 42, 44, 46, 47, 65, 66; in California, 212, 213, 214, 215
Drake, Francis, English navigator, 14, 19
Ducrue, Jesuit Superior, 178
Ecchevarri, Jesuit Visitor, 140, 141
Epidemics, in California, 115, 153, 158, 203, 206, 212
Ferdinand, of Aragon, 37, 43
Florida Blanca, Minister of Charles III., 193
Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, 38, 55
Franciscans, in W. Indies, 38, 46; in Mexico, 61; reach California, 197; start for San Diego, 205; found mission at Velicata, 206; cede peninsular missions to Dominicans, 212
Galvez, Minister of Charles III., 176, 187, 199, 200, 201, 203
Gandia, Duchess of, leaves legacy to Pious Fund, 168
Georgia, incident in its early history, 44
Gila, River, crossed by Kuehn, 97
Gomara, Spanish historian, names California, 13
Goni, Jesuit missionary, 30, 82
Gonzalez, Tirso de, General of Jesuits, encourages Californian missions, 86
Gordon, Scotch Jesuit missionary at La Paz, 124
Guadalajara, Father Salvatierra's death there, 119
Guadalupe, Mission, 125
Guaicuris, Indian tribe, 117, 122, 127, 153
Guamas (Californian, name for medicine men), 80, 125, 133, 136, 170
Guilen, Jesuit missionary Superior, 126, 144
Gulf of California, 15; pearls in, 26; storms on, 108, 116, 121; explorations in, 129, 161
Guisi, Jesuit missionary, drowned in shipwreck, 116
Hawaii, teaching methods there compared with Californian practice, 112, 157
Helen, Jesuit missionary, 125, 131
Henry VIII., of England, his action compared with that of Pombal, 167; of Charles III., 185, 190, 192
Hospitals, for natives ordered by Ximenes, 57; founded by Ugarte, 105

Huasinipi, forest in peninsula, 122, 125
Inamna, German Jesuit, 153
Indians, of California, 23, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 158, 198
Inquisitor, first in America, 42
Isabella, The Catholic, forbids Indian slavery, 36, 38
Iriarte, Dominican President of Missions, drowned in shipwreck, 214
Iturbi, Captain, discovers first pearl fisheries of California, 26
Jesuit methods of instruction, 112, 135, 154, 155; compared with modern results, 157
Jesuit Order, exiled from Brazil, 167; offers to resign Californian missions, 176; banished by Charles III., 177, 178, 180; proscription of in Spain, 182, 183, 185; in Mexico, 187, 188; Mexican Jesuits sent to Corsica, 189; action of Charles III., 191; his motives, 192; enmity of Spanish Ministers, 194; investigation of decree of exile, 195; note on, 219.
Kadakaaman, native name of district, 132, 135, 176
Kieft, early Dutch Governor of New York, his treatment of Indian fugitives, 93
Kuehn, Eusebius (also Kino), German Jesuit, 29, 83; meets Salvatierra, 85; retained in Sonora, 86; explorations, 97, 98; visits Colorado with Salvatierra, 99; death, 116; life work, 117
La Paz, Bay of, 14, 30, 123, 204, 205
La Purissima, Mission, 124
Las Casas, early missionary, 36, 48, 49, 50; political principles, 52; action in Cuba, 53, 54; frames legislation in behalf of natives, 56; on negro slavery, 59; plans colony, 60; becomes a Dominican, 64; tries new missionary methods, 66
Link, Bohemian Jesuit missionary, 167; founds San Francisco Borgia Mission, 168; defeats hostile Indians, 170; explores to near San Diego, 171, 205
Lorenzo, Portuguese, Governor of peninsula, accompanies Salvatierra, 90; chosen Captain, 95; action towards hostiles, 107, 146, 151, 152
Luyando, Mexican Jesuit, endows mission from his own means, 132; begins it, 133; action towards medicine men, 134; organizes military defence of converts, 138; pardons prisoners, 139
Magdalena Bay, 22, 126, 211
Malibat, mission at, 111; consolidated, 161, 216
Manila, 18, 20
Matanchel, Mexican port, 109, 123
Mayorga, Spanish Jesuit, 114, 158
Mazatlan, 26
Mendocino, Cape, 18
Mendoza, Antonio, Mexican Viceroy, 15, 67
Mendoza, Becerra, officer, 14
Mexico, City of, Pious Fund begun there, 87; seizure of Jesuits by Galvez, 187
Mexico, Viceroyalty, extent in 17th century, 69
Military establishment in California, 88, 90, 94; paid by crown, 120; duties, 150; change in, 152
Military training given converts, 138, 170, 172
Minutili, Sardinian Jesuit, 107, 108
Missions, special features of in Spanish Colonies, 35; methods under Isabella, 36, 38; lull in missions before Columbus, 39;

Franciscans and Dominicans try new system, 46; legislation of Ximenes, 57; Las Casas as a missionary, 65; general policy formed in consequence, 67; Californian mission urged by Kuehn, 84; by Salvatierra, 87, 88; Loretto founded, 90; Jesuit mission methods, 96, 103, 106, 112, 114, 126, 130, 135, 138, 143, 150, 154, 158, 162, 164, 170; military administration, 197, 198; Franciscans given charge, 199; measures of Galvez for mission development, 201, 202, 203; decay of population after expulsion of Jesuits, 206, 209; Dominicans replace Franciscans, 214; list of missions, 216, 217

Monterey, Conde de, Viceroy, 21; Bay of Pines receives his name, 24

Montesino, early Dominican missionary denounces Indian slavery, 42, 43, 58, 64

Moran, Juan, Franciscan, dies of epidemic, 206

Mugizabal, Spanish officer becomes a lay brother in Jesuits, 124, 158, 165

Murr, Christopher de, publishes motives for expelling Jesuits from Spain, 192

Napoli, Italian Jesuit, founds mission at La Paz, 127, 128

New Albion, name suggested by Drake for California, 14

Oregon, coasts visited, 14, 18

Otondo, Admiral, attempts colony in Lower California, 29, 30, 31, 32

Pacific Ocean, first crossed eastward, 18; dangers of early navigation, 20, 24

Palou, Franciscan Superior after Serra, 197, 200, 202, 203, 205, 207, 208

Pearl fishing in Gulf, 26, 29; decrease in yield, 132; forbidden to soldiers, 150; Sistiaga's action, 151

Pericus, Indian tribe in south of peninsula, 78, 117, 123, 127; murder two priests, 145, 146; attack Santa Rosa, 146; kill a boat's crew, 148; subdued, 152; decimated by sickness, 153; inaugurate agitation for division of lands, 173

Piccolo, Sicilian Jesuit, first companion of Salvatierra, 89, 91, 93, 100, 101, 107, 140

Pious Fund, origin, 88, 100; organized, 109, 120; transferred to Government control, 200; used for ships by Galvez, 204; condition in 1773, told by Palou, 217; note, further particulars, 221

Philip II. of Spain, orders Viscaino's expedition, 20, 21

Philip V., orders subsidy for missions, 107, 121

Philippines, occupied by Spain, 18; port in California desired for, 20, 63; decrease of population at first, 159

Portola, Captain, sent to arrest Jesuit missionaries, 177; his action in California, 178, 197, 198

Pragmatic Sanction, name given by Charles III. to decree banishing Jesuits from his kingdom, 182

Retz, German Jesuit, 153; founds Santa Gertrudis, 162; introduces new methods of farming, 164; explores the deserts, 165

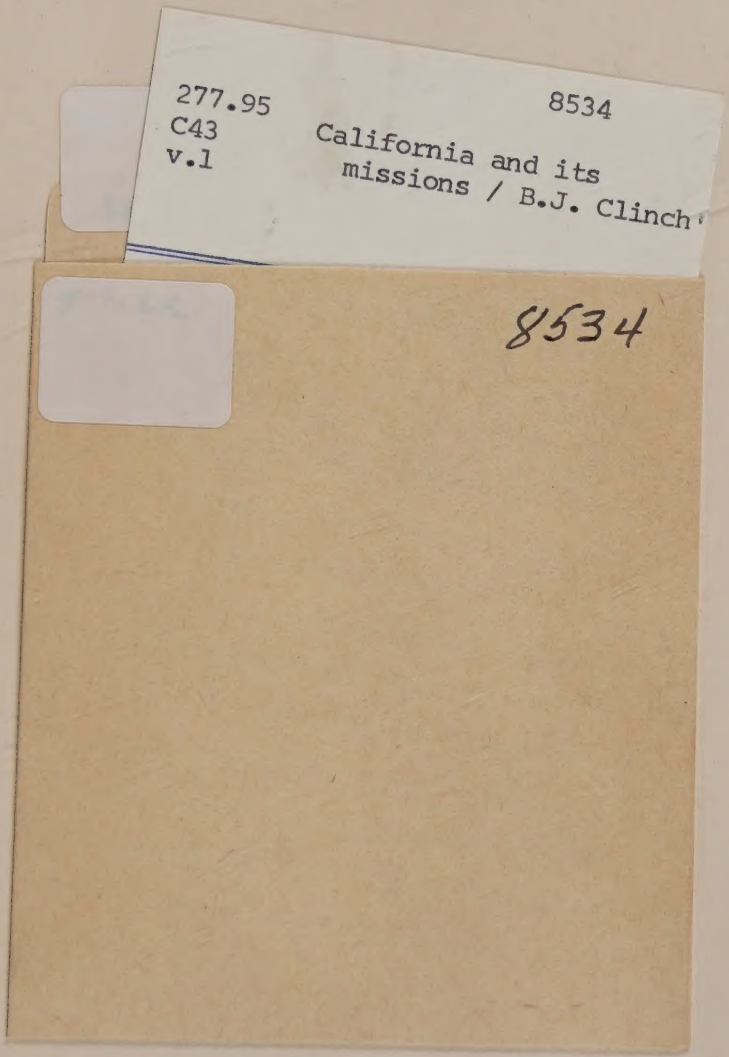
Rivera, last Governor under Jesuits, 177

Salvatierra, Italian Jesuit, 85; meets Kuehn, 86; organizes mission for California, 87; begins it, 89; first experience with natives, 92, 93; goes to the Colorado, 98; called to Mexico as

Provincial, 109; returns to California, 111; visits the Seris in Sonora, 116; ransoms Guaicuris, 118; called to Mexico, 118; death at Guadalajara, 119
San Blas, Mexican port, 180, 197
San Bruno, Bay, 31, 32
San Fernando, missionary College, charged to find successors for Jesuit missionaries, 197, 208, 212
San Francisco Borgia, mission, 168, 169, 170, 210
San Francisco Xavier, mission, 102, 105, 106, 107, 202, 206, 209
San Ignacio, mission, 132, 136, 137, 140, 210, 211
San Jose de Comondu, mission, 115, 202, 206, 210; sugar and cotton growing, 211
San Jose del Cabo, mission, 141, 146, 161, 162, 201, 206, 209
San Juan de Londo, mission founded by Piccolo, consolidated, 161, 216
San Lucas, Cape, 13, 22, 117; boats crew killed at, 148; epidemic at, 206
San Luis Gonzaga, mission founded by Ugarte, 201; granted to a soldier, 202
Santa Ana, mining village, 199, 200, 201, 204, 212
Santa Catalina, island, 17, 25
Santa Gertrudis, mission, 162, 168, 202, 211
Santa Maria, mission, 172, 202, 211
Santa Rosa, mission, 141, 143, 145, 146, 160
Santiago, mission, 141, 144, 145, 153, 174, 202, 206; secularized, 208, 210
Schools, ordered by Ximenes, 57; in Mexico, 63; in California, 105, 111, 115, 117, 120, 156, 157, 200, 201, 202
Secularization of missions in Durango, 161; proposed in California, 176; Santiago mission secularized, 202, 208
Seris, Sonora tribe, 85; visited by Salvatierra, 116; by Ugarte, 129
Serra, Junipero, Franciscan Superior, reaches Loretto, 197; volunteers for Upper California, 204; founds a mission at Velicata, 205
Shipbuilding in California, 122, 167
Shipwrecks on Gulf, 108, 116, 121
Siedelmeyer, German Jesuit, explores Sonora, 83, 161
Sistiaga, Spanish Jesuit, 131, 133, 147, 151, 158, 160
Sistiaga, Andres, Indian teacher, 162, 164
Sonora, Spanish province, 84, 88, 97, 98, 116
Taboos, among the natives of California, 75, 142
Tamaral, Spanish Jesuit, 118, 124, 141, 142, 144; murdered at his mission, 146
Taravel, Spanish Jesuit, 141, 142, 143, 146
Tempis, Bohemian Jesuit, 153
Tiburon, island, 130, 131
Todos Santos, mission near La Paz, 201, 203, 206, 209
Tuparan, Indian name for evil spirit, 79
Ugarte, Juan, Mexican Jesuit, 100; lands at Loretto, 101; founds San Xavier, 102; awes savages, 104; begins farming alone, 105; Superior in absence of Salvatierra, 109; founds missions at Malibat and Mulege, 111; again Superior, 119; builds a vessel in California, 122; founds mission at La Paz, 123; explores the Colorado, 129;

founds San Ignacio, 132; death, 140
Ugarte, Pedro, brother of Juan, Jesuit missionary, reaches Loretto, 108; begins mission at Malibat, 113, 115; invalided, 115, 135
Ulloa, officer of Cortez, explores Gulf of California, 14
Urdaneta, Spanish explorer, 18
Velicata, Franciscan mission, 205, 207, 214
Venegas, Jesuit historian of California, 13, 79, 141
Ventura, Jesuit missionary, builds vessels in California, 167
Vera Cruz, Jesuit exiles collected there, 188; mortality there among prisoners, 188, 213
Viceroys of Mexico, little disposed to favor missions, 132, 149, 152, 161, 176
Villalobos, Spanish commander, 16
Villa Puente, Marquis de, founds several missions, 107, 132, 161
Vizcaino, Spanish explorer, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26
Wars, among Californian savages, 76; at Xavier mission, 107; at San Ignacio, 138; at San Francisco Borgia, 170; Pericu war, 151; at Calagnajuet, 172
Witchcraft among Californians, not credited by Jesuits, 113, 134; New England ideas on, 134
Wine, use not allowed to converts, 106
Ximenes, Cardinal, legislates for protection of natives, 55, 57, 58, 60, 67
Yaquis, 70, 86; a party visits California, 111; send help against the Pericus, 151
Zumaraga, Bishop of Mexico, 63, 64

٣٠٢٠٤٨



ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY